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WITCHCRAFT AND THE BOOK TRADE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

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PhD Early Modern Literature and Culture

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September 2012

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree.

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DPhil Early Modern Literature and Culture

Witchcraft and the Book Trade in Early Modern England

Summary

This thesis presents a study of the production and reception of English writing on witchcraft from the period 1560-1660 using the methodologies of the history of the book and the history of reading. The body of works under consideration includes scholarly treatises, news pamphlets, drama and ballads. The origins, literary contexts, production, dissemination and reception of these works are considered across the period. Analysis of reception involves consideration of contemporary library holdings, citations in print, binding and contemporary annotations; this section is based on study of the holdings of a number of research libraries in England and North America. The study supports the conclusions of recent research into scholarly writing on witchcraft, which has suggested that such writing was more thoroughly embedded in its intellectual context than has previously been appreciated; this study provides more evidence for this view and expands it to include the other genres of witchcraft writing under consideration. The study concludes that the concept 'witchcraft writing' is not a useful one for our understanding of this material. Conclusions are also offered about the relative impact of individual works, and about the impact of this body of writing as a whole. While general works stand out (the treatises of Reginald Scot, William Perkins and James I, as well as many Continental treatises), the overall impression is that writing on witchcraft was not successful commercially. This supports the conclusion that witchcraft writing was not as representative of early modern belief more generally as has been previously thought.

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*For like as when, rough winter spent,
The pleasant spring straight draweth in ure,
So after ragyng stormes of care
Joyful at length may be my fare.*
— Surrey

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Editorial conventions

Spelling and punctuation in quotation from printed sources follows the original, with the following exceptions: spacing has been regularised; where a tittle is given over a vowel (indicating an omitted letter) the contraction is silently expanded; all other contractions are unexpanded. Black letter text is given in roman type; where roman type appears in black letter texts it is given here in italic. The long f and other obsolete typographical variations have not been reproduced.

Titles are given in their original form; this often differs between editions. Therefore the form of the specific edition being referred to is used; when no specific edition is being referred to, the form of the first edition is used. In titles of works, words in all capitals or small capitals are given here with only their first letter capitalised. Otherwise capitalisation follows the original. Use of italics and different typefaces is not distinguished in citations of titles; titles are entirely italicised, except in quotations from title-pages. Names have been regularised. Place names are given in their modern English form. Dates are given in ‘new style’.

The same conventions are applied to transcriptions of manuscript sources, with the following additions. Annotations are found with distressing regularity to have been cropped by later binders; where cropped words can be reconstructed, the missing portions are given in square brackets. Otherwise omitted letters are also indicated within square brackets. Unclear words are noted with a question mark in square brackets; set close to the word where a reasonable conjecture has been made; set in place of the word where no conjecture has been possible. Ligation of manuscript marginal notes has not been retained.

Abbreviations of frequently cited reference works and holding libraries

Arber	Arber, E., <i>A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.</i> , 5 vols, Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967.
BL	The British Library, London.
Bodleian	The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Codrington	The Codrington Library, All Soul's College, Oxford.
Cornell	Cornell University Library, NY; witchcraft collection available online at: http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/w/witch .
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online ed.), ed. L. Goldman, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, available at http://www.oxforddnb.com .
EBBA	<i>English Broadside Ballad Archive</i> , available at http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu .
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> , available at http://eebo.chadwyck.com .
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , available at http://estc.bl.uk .
Folger	The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
Harvard	Harvard University Library, MA; available online via <i>EEBO</i> .
Huntington	The Huntington Library, CA; available online via <i>EEBO</i> .
JRL	The John Rylands Library, University of Manchester.
Lambeth	Lambeth Palace Library, London.
Leedham-Green	Leedham-Green, E. S., <i>Books in Cambridge Probate Inventories — Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart periods</i> , 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
LoC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LPD	Knutson, R. L. & McInnis, D. (eds), <i>Lost Plays Database</i> , available at http://www.lostplays.org .
McKerrow	McKerrow, R. B., <i>A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640</i> , London: Blades, East & Blades for the Bibliographical Society, 1910.
Plomer	Plomer, H. R., <i>A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were At Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667</i> , London: the Bibliographical Society, 1907.

<i>PLRE</i>	<i>Private Libraries of Renaissance England</i> , available at http://plre.folger.edu .
Queen's	The Library of Queen's College, Oxford.
SHL	Senate House Library, University of London.
<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</i> (2 nd ed.), 3 vols, compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, ed. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson & K. F. Pantzer, London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986.
UCL	University College London Library, London.
Wellcome	The Wellcome Library, London.
Wren	The Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge.

‘there cannot be a history of ideas without a history of objects.’

– G. Thomas Tanselle¹

‘For some haue intreated of Sorcerers onely by way of a bare collection of Histories, and of the criminall proceedings against them, together with the relations of their owne auerments and confessions.’

– Sébastien Michaelis²

¹ G. T. Tanselle, *Literature and Artifacts* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society, 1998), 309.

² S. Michaelis, *The Admirable History Of The Possession And Conuersion of a Penitent woman. Seduced By A Magician That Made her to become a Witch*, trans. W. B. (London: Felix Kingston for William Aspley, 1613), Gg5^v.

Introduction

A copy of the second edition of William Perkins' *Discourse Of The Damned Art of Witchcraft* (1610, first published 1608), now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, contains some intriguing annotations. Perkins was a 'gifted preacher and a massively prolific writer on theological matters', with 'a tremendous international reputation', and his treatise on witchcraft is considered a major contribution to the debate in England.¹ A later seventeenth-century reader of this copy, however, was not swayed by Perkins' reputation and disagreed with him on a number of points. Most strikingly on tacit pacts with the Devil, which Perkins (and many others) held to be damning; this reader suggests that it is 'rather a matter of caution than of vnlawfulness' to meet and talk with the Devil, and that Satan's services may be used without fear, as long as it is for a good end and no explicit contract is made.² This reader is essentially suggesting that it is possible to outwit the Prince of Darkness. These, and other annotations in the same hand, show a reader entering into debate with Perkins, and advancing surprising and original ideas of their own, many of which Perkins would have thoroughly denounced. Touching mostly on the operations of the Devil, but also on the effects of magical amulets, miracles and exorcism, the annotations only twice mention witches. Even more surprising about this copy is an inscription in a different hand on a front free endpaper, dated 1647: '*Ex Dono Matrib mea* [A gift from my mother]'.³

Both sets of markings may come as a surprise to us, but should they? We are used to assuming that writing on witchcraft offered a representative viewpoint, if not of the 'common folk', then at least of its educated readers. The annotations show us that this was not necessarily the case. And the inscription shows us witchcraft writing in a context in which we may never have previously imagined it. Both hint at a range of material not taken into account by modern approaches to witchcraft writing, but which may change our understanding of it. They remind us that study of works on the subject in isolation offers only a partial perspective on early modern witchcraft belief. Minor as they are in themselves, both demonstrate the potentially major importance of paying attention to how printed works were read by contemporaries.

¹ J. Sharpe (ed.), *English Witchcraft 1560-1736*, 6 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), I, xxviii.

² W. Perkins, *A Discourse Of The Damned Art Of Witchcraft* (2nd ed.), ed. T. Pickering (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1610), Folger *STC* 19698 Copy 1, 52-53.

³ *Ibid.*, front free endpaper recto.

Printed works are one of our primary sources of evidence for early modern witchcraft belief, and the research of the past two decades has provided us with a better understanding of them than ever before. In particular, Stuart Clark's major study *Thinking With Demons – The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* stressed the importance of situating scholarly writing on witchcraft from across Europe in its intellectual context. The work analyses the intellectual milieu of demonological theory and some of the larger ideas with which it engaged (and which engaged with it).⁴ As Clark has written elsewhere, 'witchcraft encroached upon, and was in turn influenced by, a wide range of contemporary cultural phenomena and, to be intelligible, must be located in relation to them.'⁵ Also important in this respect is the work of Ian Bostridge, which situates later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English demonology in the context of contemporary political debate.⁶ For the cheap print which published not the theory of witchcraft but reports of individual instances of it, recent work has focussed on the ways in which representations of witchcraft in news pamphlets were influenced and shaped by trial procedures, as well as by the varying levels of access the authors of the accounts had, either to trials, trial documents or to the events leading up to trials. The work of Marion Gibson in particular has taught modern scholars to be wary of the relationship these accounts have to the events they purport to represent.⁷ Such research has been complemented by a series of micro-historical studies of the background to some of the witch-trials that were reported in cheap print.⁸

⁴ S. Clark, *Thinking With Demons – The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ S. Clark, 'Introduction' in id. (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft – Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture* (London: Macmillan Press, 2001), 12. The argument that witchcraft beliefs can only be understood in context has also been made, in relation to witch-trials (hence referring to social context), by Robin Briggs and Malcolm Gaskill: R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours – The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002); M. Gaskill, 'The Pursuit of Reality: Recent Research into the History of Witchcraft', *The Historical Journal*, 51, 4 (2008).

⁶ I. Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations c.1650-c.1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). See also P. Elmer, 'Towards a Politics of Witchcraft in Early Modern England' in Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft*; and John L. Teall, whose suggestion that witchcraft should never be divorced from 'the general intellectual history of whatever age within which its manifestations may occur' was not taken up until long after he wrote; 'Witchcraft and Calvinism in Elizabethan England: Divine Power and Human Agency', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23, 1 (1962), 36.

⁷ M. Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of early English witches* (London: Routledge, 1999); id., *Early Modern Witches – Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000). See also P. Rushton, 'Texts of Authority: Witchcraft Accusations and the Demonstration of Truth in Early Modern England' in Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft*; A. Bayman, 'Large hands, wide eares, and piercing sights': The 'Discoveries' of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Witch Pamphlets', *Literature and History*, 16, 1 (2007).

⁸ Examples include: G. Geiss & I. Bunn, *A Trial of Witches – A seventeenth-century witchcraft prosecution* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997); M. Gaskill, *Witchfinders – A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 2006); M. Honeybone, *Wicked Practise & Sorcery – The Belvoir Witchcraft case of 1619* (Buckingham: Baron Books, 2008); P. C. Almond, *The Witches of Warboys – An Extraordinary Story of Sorcery, Sadism and Satanic Possession* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008); id., *The Lancashire Witches – A Chronicle of Sorcery and Death on Pendle Hill* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

Important as they are, however, none of these works take into account the ways in which printed works on witchcraft were read by contemporaries; how direct reader responses like the annotations in the Folger copy of Perkins' *Discourse* may shape our understanding of beliefs about witchcraft. Nor have they considered the ways in which the commercial processes which governed the material production and dissemination of these works may have affected this. Too much research has focussed on how *we* read printed works on witchcraft; not enough on how contemporaries may have read them. As Adrian Johns has put it (with reference to the historiography of science), their analysis stops at the door of the printing house.⁹ Indeed, this lacuna in the historiography of witchcraft was hinted at by Clark in the preface to *Thinking With Demons*: he acknowledges that the work is limited to a study of 'patterns of thought' and does not address 'the concrete situations that influenced their expression.'¹⁰ Jonathan Barry, in a reassessment of the foundational work of Keith Thomas, drew attention to a similar lack (a 'fundamental gap') in Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (and, by implication, subsequent work). Barry identified:

a lack of concern for the processes of cultural transmission compared to the intellectual plausibility and social / psychological usefulness of given ideas. There is no extended discussion, for example, of the role of education, the press, sermons, customary events or storytelling practices in the transmission of beliefs, nor of the impact that changes in or conflicts between these rival methods of transmission had on the survival, transformation or varied prestige and acceptance of these ideas.¹¹

With regards to the second of these, the press, no-one has yet taken up the challenge. Given the importance of printed works on witchcraft to our understanding of the belief, a point that Kevin Sharpe has made about the history of early modern politics applies here also: for a history to be complete, it 'must address how such texts were produced, disseminated and received, how they were written and read.'¹²

This thesis attempts to provide such a history. It adopts methodologies from the history of the book and the history of reading in order to assess how the processes of its production and dissemination may have influenced the ways in which writing on witchcraft

⁹ A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book – Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 42.

¹⁰ *Thinking With Demons*, x.

¹¹ J. Barry, 'Introduction: Keith Thomas and the problem of witchcraft' in J. Barry, M. Hester & G. Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe – Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 25.

¹² K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions – The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), ix.

was read, and what the performance of witchcraft books within the book trade can tell us about the belief during the period. ‘Almost all texts of any consequence’, D. F. McKenzie has written, ‘are the product of the concurrent inter-action of ideologies and institutions, of writers, publishers, printers, binders... and all the appurtenances of a printing house.’¹³ While the temptation of many modern scholars may still be to see a written work ‘as something clearly separable from its particular material manifestations’,¹⁴ it has become clear that the process of bringing a work to print may have had a fundamental impact on the book as encountered by readers, and thus the ways in which it was read. Roger Chartier has theorised these ideas most thoroughly and stated them most succinctly:

Readers and hearers... are never confronted with abstract or ideal texts detached from all materiality; they manipulate or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading (or their hearing), thus the possible comprehension of the text read (or heard). Against a purely semantic definition of the text... one must state that forms produce meaning and that a text, stable in its letter, is invested with a new meaning and status when the mechanisms that make it available to interpretation change.¹⁵

Contextualisation of written works, therefore, must not be simply intellectual. Understanding the practicalities of the spread of ideas is essential to historicising the ideas themselves. In order to fully understand ‘the role played by written and printed materials in the constitution of knowledge’, as Johns has written, we must understand ‘the conditions in which knowledge has been made and utilised.’¹⁶ This applies not just to the creation of the physical books themselves – the textual and bibliographical forms in which a work is transmitted – but to the contexts in which they are encountered by (potential) readers; the people and locations involved in the dissemination of books. Both may have influence on the meanings readers construct from written works and thus the further development of the ideas contained in those books in wider society.

It is also important to attempt to study reception directly: how readers appropriated the meaning of texts and the relative impact that different works made. Intellectual analysis of an idea may be as detailed as possible, but if no contemporaries opened the book in

¹³ D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 128.

¹⁴ A. Johns, ‘Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography’, *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 29, 2 (1998), 174.

¹⁵ R. Chartier, *The Order of Books – Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁶ *Nature of the Book*, 623.

which the idea was transmitted such work is next to meaningless. The history of reading attempts to get beyond intended and imagined readers to historical traces of real readers; ‘to compare the implicit readers of the texts with the actual readers of the past’.¹⁷ As Sasha Roberts writes,

if we are seriously interested in historicising early modern texts, then we cannot afford to ignore the history of how they were read in early modern England; how books were transmitted, used and regarded by their contemporaries and subsequent generations. Readers may be the final link in the chain of literary production, but they are also its most vital.¹⁸

In order to attempt to reconstruct contemporary interpretations, we need to look beyond the writing itself, beyond the material forms in which it was disseminated (although both must inform such an attempt), to the ways in which works were used and appropriated by their readers. ‘Evidence about reader responses is essential to demonstrate the part that reception plays in the creation of textual meaning.’¹⁹ There is no question that such evidence is difficult to obtain. But to begin to make an attempt to recover the contemporary reception of writing on witchcraft can only enrich our understanding of these works and of the belief more generally.

Another benefit of this approach is that it assesses a wider section of society than research on witchcraft has traditionally focussed on. Most of the evidence for early modern witchcraft belief comes from witch-trials. Recent research has stressed that trials were usually exceptional circumstances and do not represent everyday currents of belief.²⁰ As Jacqueline Van Gent puts it in a recent survey of witchcraft historiography, ‘we need to look “parallel to” the witch hunts – in the neighbouring villages, in-between hunts, and in regions where they were entirely absent.’²¹ Looking at the producers of witchcraft writing – printers, publishers and booksellers – as well as, where possible, its readers, allows a

¹⁷ R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette – Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990), 182. For general overviews of the field, see J. Raven, H. Small & N. Tadmor, ‘Introduction: the practice and representation of reading in England’ in id. (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); E. R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996); Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, chapter one; W. Sherman, *Used Books – Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); J. Richards & F. Schurink, ‘Introduction: The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73, 3 (2010).

¹⁸ S. Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare’s Poems in Early modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 4.

¹⁹ J. Andersen & E. Sauer, ‘Current Trends in the History of Reading’ in id. (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 9.

²⁰ See Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours*, conclusion.

²¹ J. Van Gent, ‘Current Trends in Historical Witchcraft Studies’, *Journal of Religious History*, 35, 4 (2011), 611.

glimpse of the beliefs of parts of society not (necessarily) directly affected by witch-trials. The ways in which a work is presented to the trade are based on assessments of the nature of the work by those involved in its production, decisions which themselves are aspects of a work's reception. Subsequently, the ways in which the works perform in the commercial marketplace, and the ways in which they were treated by their purchasers (who were not always also their readers) offer further insight into the beliefs of those who may have had no direct experience of witchcraft, but who still held ideas and opinions about it.

To begin with, and for the purpose of selecting a sample of works for consideration, witchcraft is here defined as the infliction of some form of harm to people or goods, using magic. The definition was in no sense a fixed or uncomplicated one during the period, and often when writers say they are talking about witchcraft they define it very differently. They are all, however, in some way in dialogue with a version of this (simplified) definition. In a similar fashion, therefore, this definition is taken as a starting point from which to interrogate the discourse of witchcraft in early modern England. All printed works which deal substantially with witchcraft as their main topic, from the period 1560 to 1660, make up the sample of works, the history of which this thesis will attempt to trace. This period covers the century after the first extant English printed publications dedicated to witchcraft.

The sample of works includes theoretical treatises, news pamphlets, drama and ballads.²² Witchcraft also made an appearance in a very small number of works of prose fiction during the period; unlike the other literary forms, these have not been given a dedicated chapter, but they will be discussed where relevant. Such demarcations of literary form, particularly the treatise/news pamphlet dichotomy, are not always strictly observed within the works themselves: news pamphlets sometimes contain theoretical discussion, and several theoretical treatises take for their starting-point a particular instance of witchcraft. Despite this it is very rare in modern historiography for the (broad) categories of treatise and news pamphlet to be considered alongside one another, let alone in conjunction with study of other literary forms such as plays and ballads. Doing so, where logistically possible, offers new interpretive potential. By getting past distinctions that to

²² See Appendix 1 for full list of works. There are a number of works on witchcraft known to have been written but not published in print during the period: Thomas Middleton's play *The Witch*, written c.1615-16; the poet Edward Fairfax's *Daemonologia*, written in 1621; and an anonymous seventeenth-century treatise making the case for belief in witchcraft, now in the Harleian collection in the British Library. The concern of this study is with print, but these works will be mentioned as points of comparison where relevant. There are also a number of known lost works; these will be discussed in the relevant sections.

some extent we ourselves have imposed on the past, new patterns and connections can become apparent.

The authors of this sample of works include both witchcraft ‘believers’ and sceptics. In England the former were predominantly clerics; they will be the principal focus in the discussion of witchcraft theory in 1.1, but sceptical authors will be mentioned where relevant. The latter include Reginald Scot, author of the earliest surviving English witchcraft treatise; and, from much later in the period, Thomas Ady and Sir Robert Filmer. This is not to suggest, however, that English witchcraft discourse was shaped around a simple dichotomy of belief versus scepticism: there were differing levels of belief and nuances of argument within the thought of those who wrote in favour of belief in witchcraft and who argued for extension of the laws prohibiting it, as well as of those who wrote against the belief. As Clark has written, ‘belief’ and ‘scepticism’ in witchcraft matters were not fixed or separable, but relative categories which operated along a continuum of reactions to the crime.²³ In fact the clerical authors were often not as far from the sceptics as they claimed, and both sides shared fundamental positions. Other and wider issues were at stake in the discourse, as we shall see, and it was these which informed views on witchcraft during the period, rather than the debate over the existence of the phenomenon.

The approaches of the history of the book and the history of reading are applied to this body of works in an attempt to ground the ideas and their development more firmly in the material context of their production and dissemination. It is an attempt to trace the history of these works along Robert Darnton’s ‘communication circuit’; that is, author-producer-disseminator-reader.²⁴ A key element of this is a consideration of all these aspects in relationship to one another. As Darnton writes, ‘however they [book historians] define their subject, they will not draw out its full significance unless they relate it to all the elements that worked together as a circuit for transmitting texts.’²⁵ ‘Yet, too often,’ Heidi Breman Hackel suggests, ‘other historians of the book and of reading analyze only one segment of this circuit, thus losing the necessary sense of the relationships between authors, publishers, and readers.’²⁶ All elements of the circuit are considered in an attempt to recover these relationships.

²³ S. Clark, ‘Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c.1520-c.1630)’ in B. Ankarloo & G. Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft – Centres & Peripheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 76.

²⁴ R. Darnton, ‘What Is the History of Books?’, *Daedalus*, 3, 3 (1982), 67.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁶ H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England – Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9.

Darnton's communication circuit is taken as the basis for the structure of the thesis: it comprises three parts, beginning with a look at the intellectual contexts of the works, followed by consideration of their material production and dissemination, before turning to their reception. Part one considers the writing of the works; their ideological and literary contexts. This section is divided along formal lines, treating separately (for logistical reasons) the theoretical treatises, news pamphlets, drama and ballads. 1.1 discusses the origins of the witchcraft theory expressed in scholarly treatises: what its key ideas were and how these related to wider ideologies. Given the anonymity of the vast majority of news pamphlets, 1.2 takes a slightly more market-driven approach, comparing news pamphlets which reported cases of witchcraft with a sample of other news pamphlets on a variety of topics. The structures and devices of pamphlet reports of witchcraft are thus situated in the context of news publishing more generally. 1.3 looks at trends in dramatic writing and the position of plays featuring witchcraft within these trends, as well as their relationship to witchcraft theory. Finally, 1.4 considers how the few surviving witchcraft ballads fit in with this enormously popular medium, and how the traditions of the ballad market affected their construction. The aim throughout Part one is to interrogate the idea that works on witchcraft (in whichever form they take) can be set apart as an isolated genre, and to explore how their wider contexts may have influenced the representations of witchcraft they presented to the book trade.

Part two looks at the works' production and dissemination. 2.1 considers those who printed, published and distributed the works, and, where it is possible to speculate, why; in particular what else was being produced and disseminated by the same people. Here the contextualisation is most explicitly commercial: what were the contexts in which these works were discovered and purchased? These contexts, it is argued – the people who produced them, the books they were produced alongside – influenced the works' reception. 2.2 looks at the works' post-publication history from the perspective of the trade, that is, how successful the works were as commodities. During the course of this study evidence was uncovered identifying previously unidentified Stationers who were involved in the production of works on witchcraft: this evidence is discussed in Appendix 2.

Part three looks directly at the reception of the works. 3.1 presents the results of a survey of holdings of witchcraft books in private libraries from the period. 3.2 discusses the ways in which the works were bound by contemporaries – how they were bound as well as what they were bound alongside. 3.3 considers evidence of readings published in print and elsewhere; which works were cited publically and what they were cited for. Finally, 3.4

presents the results of a study of marginalia and other contemporary responses inscribed on copies of the works themselves. The evidence presented in 3.2 and 3.4 is based on a survey of over 300 copies of the works in research libraries in England and North America.²⁷ In Part three the chronology has been expanded to include the later seventeenth century, to allow time for readers to respond to works published towards the end of the period, and for collection records to appear.

Together these three parts offer a study of English witchcraft books as books; as ideological and commercial objects whose meaning was shaped not just by their authors or the events that gave rise to their authorship, but by the people and places involved in their material production and dissemination, and by contemporary readers themselves. There is much to be learnt about the nature, intensity and development of early modern witchcraft belief from a consideration of these issues. Reader responses like those discussed at the beginning of this introduction open our understanding of witchcraft up to the variety of meanings it could have and the multiplicity of contexts in which it could be found. Given this variety, this study will question whether these works can be considered a coherent body of discourse at all – whether there can even be said to have been such a thing as ‘witchcraft writing’.

²⁷ Research was conducted in the physical collections of: the British Library; Lambeth Palace Library; the Wellcome Library; Senate House Library; University College London Library; the Bodleian Library; the Library of Queen’s College, Oxford; the Codrington Library, All Soul’s College, Oxford; Cambridge University Library; the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; the John Rylands Library; Chetham’s Library; the Folger Shakespeare Library; and the Library of Congress. And in the digital collections of: the British Library (the Thomason Tracts), the Huntington Library and Harvard University Library (available via *EEBO*); and Cornell University Library (available at: <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/w/witch>).

Part 1: Origins and literary contexts

The ways in which the intellectual, literary and commercial contexts from which it originated affected writing on witchcraft is the subject of Part one. Each sub-section considers a different literary form, analysing how each was influenced by the various contexts in which the works were written. To begin with, 1.1 considers the scholarly theoretical treatises which discussed the subject in the abstract and which, outside of trials, are one of our primary sources of evidence for early modern witchcraft belief. 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 go on to consider, respectively, news pamphlets, plays and ballads which feature witchcraft.

1.1 Witchcraft theory

Of principal concern for the clerical theorists who wrote treatises on the subject of witchcraft, and their intellectual colleagues, was not in fact the devil-worshipping malefic witch (though these came under heavy censure too), but white witches, also known as good witches or cunning folk. The clerical condemnation of beneficent magic has a long history;¹ for English writers on witchcraft it was an essential aspect of their witchcraft theory, and the common theme running through all their work. Understanding it is key not only to an understanding of Protestant witchcraft theory itself, but of how that theory relates to the wider context in which it was written. The focus on white witches arose from a larger ideological struggle, from a reforming project theorised and enacted in print. The submersion of witchcraft within this wider programme problematises the very concept of ‘witchcraft theory’.

‘As in Gods Church there be good and bad’, wrote Lincolnshire minister Richard Bernard in *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men* (1627), ‘So in this kingdome of Satan, there are good and bad Witches’.² Good witches were those, physician John Cotta explained,

whom our custome and country doth call wisemen and wisewomen, reputed a kind of good & honest harmless witches or wisards, who by good words, by hallowed herbes and

¹ See K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic – Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (paperback ed.; London: Penguin, 1991), chapter 9; E. Cameron, *Enchanted Europe – Superstition, Reason, & Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chapter 3.

² R. Bernard, *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men* (London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1627), 129.

salues, and other superstitious ceremonies promise to allay and calme diuels, practises of other witches, and the forces of many diseases[.]³

These figures appear to have been widespread throughout Europe, during the period and beyond.⁴ Bernard argued, however, that: ‘There ought to be no such distinction of Witches to be made into good and bad, blessing and cursing... They may differ in name, but al are abomination to the Lord, and ought to dye.’⁵ These writers were advancing a definition of witchcraft which differed from the one apparently commonly held – or rather, they were extending its application to cover a much wider range of practises. ‘For this must alwaies be remembred,’ wrote William Perkins, whose *Discovrse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* was published posthumously in 1608,

that by Witches we vnderstand not those onely which kill and torment: but all Diuiners, Charmers, Iuglers, all Wizzards, commonly called wise men and wise women; yea, whosoeuer doe any thing (knowing what they doe) which cannot be effected by nature or art; and in the same number we reckon all good Witches, which doe no hurt but good, which doe not spoile and destroy, but saue and deliuer.⁶

To understand the origins of English witchcraft theory we must first understand this expanded definition of witchcraft.

‘Bad’ witches were less of an issue than they were perceived to be in the common imagination, and they were blamed too often when misfortune occurred. ‘It is an euill too common amongst the ignorant vulgars,’ Bernard wrote,

amongst the superstitious, the popishly-affected, amongst others of a vaine conuersation, which are Protestants at large, neutrals in heart, sensuall, without the power of Religion, and amongst all the generation of vaine people, to thinke presently, when any euill betideth them, that they, or theirs, or their cattell are bewitched[.]⁷

³ J. Cotta, *A Short Discoverie Of The Vnobserved Dangers Of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate Practisers of Physicke* (London: Richard Field for William Jones & Richard Boyle, 1612), 71.

⁴ See O. Davies, *Popular Magic – Cunning-folk in English History* (paperback ed.; London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), chapter 3; W. de Blécourt, ‘Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests. On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition’, *Social History*, 19, 3 (1994).

⁵ *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 253-54.

⁶ W. Perkins, *A Discovrse Of The Damned Art of Witchcraft*, ed. T. Pickering (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1608), 255-56.

⁷ *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 77-78.

This passage hints at the wider problems underlying the errors these authors saw in popular belief. George Gifford, in his *Discourse of the subtill Practises of Deuilles by VVitches and Sorcerers* (1587), maintained that ‘it is no godly zeale but furious rage, wherewith the common sort are caried against witches’.⁸ Where malefic witches were concerned, moderation was the counsel; stricter standards of evidence and more care in finding them out.⁹ It was on good witches and the moral implications of their activities that the authors of English witchcraft theory focussed their attacks. Thomas Cooper declared in *The Mystery Of Witch-craft* (1617) that ‘the *Blessor or good Witch* (as we terme her) is farre more dangerous then the *Badde or hurting Witch*’.¹⁰ The ‘accounted Good Witch,’ wrote John Gaule in 1646, ‘is indeed the worse and more wicked of the two.’¹¹ Perkins concluded his entire witchcraft treatise with the simple sentence: ‘Death therefore is the iust and deserued portion of the good Witch.’¹² Scriptural support came not just from the commandment ‘Thou shalt not suffre a witche to liue’, but from Deuteronomy 18:10-11, which listed witches alongside charmers, fortune-tellers and those ‘that counselleth with spirits’, as well as the witch of Endor in 1 Samuel, ‘a woman that hath a familiar spirit’, and the condemnation in Leviticus of those who ‘turne after suche as worke with spirits, & after sothesaiers, to go a whoring after them’.¹³ The condemnation, however, as we shall see, had a much larger theological foundation.

Although not denying the existence of black witches, these writers considered their powers greatly reduced compared to the common opinion, because it was the Devil – always acting according to the will of God – who had the real power. ‘For the vnclane spirits are the doers in sorceries and witchcraftes: men and women are but instruments.’¹⁴ As Perkins put it, ‘nothing can be effected, vnlesse the partie haue made a league with the Deuill’.¹⁵ Cotta explained in *The Triall Of Witch-craft* (1616) that:

since supernaturall workes are only proper to a Spirit, and aboue the nature and power of man; they cannot truely and properly bee esteemed his; and therefore it is not the supernaturall worke it selfe, but mans contract and combination therein with the diuell, his

⁸ G. Gifford, *A Discourse of the subtill Practises of Deuilles by VVitches and Sorcerers* (London: T. Orwin for Toby Cooke, 1587), H4r.

⁹ See also e.g. H. Holland, *A Treatise Against VVitchcraft* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1590), E2r; J. Gaule, *Select Cases of Conscience Touching VVitches and VVitchcrafts* (London: William Wilson for Richard Clutterbuck, 1646), 45-46.

¹⁰ T. Cooper, *The Mystery Of Witch-craft* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1617), 232.

¹¹ *Select Cases of Conscience*, 30-31.

¹² *Discourse*, 257.

¹³ *The Bible* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), 34, 88, 134, 55.

¹⁴ Gifford, *Discourse*, F4r.

¹⁵ *Discourse*, 56.

consent and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a contracter with the diuel.¹⁶

All magic was diabolical, including the magic of white witches, though hidden under a show of benevolence. The Devil was the root of all, which meant that black witches were less culpable than popularly believed, white witches more so.

The greater danger of white witches came from the very fact that, despite the diabolical origin of their power, they masqueraded as beneficial; because ostensibly good – therefore more likely to be trusted and resorted to – they were far more evil. ‘For as Satan, being a Fiend of darknes, is then worst when hee transformes himselfe into an Angel of Light: so likewise are his Ministers.’¹⁷ The bodily relief they provided was misleading; the real danger was spiritual. The good witch, wrote Cooper, ‘yeeldeth helpe at a verie desperate rate; namely, the endangering of the soule’.¹⁸ Hence, ‘It were better for you to bide by the losse,’ as Perkins wrote, ‘yea to liue and die in any sicknes, then to tempt God by seeking help at charmers hands’.¹⁹ Seeking the help of white witches was not simply unwise, it was actively idolatrous, a violation of the first Commandment, because it rejected the power and authority of God and turned instead to the power and authority of a different god, the Devil.²⁰ The importance of these ideas to printed English witchcraft theory cannot be overstated; their real significance lies, as we shall see, in that they drew on wider ideas and as a result allow us to contextualise witchcraft theory and view it with a proper sense of perspective.

Concerns regarding ostensibly beneficent magic were echoed by Quakers who wrote about witchcraft. Richard Farnworth stated on the title-page of his *Witchcraft Cast out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God* (1655), ‘you go from God, to the Devill, that go to take Counsell of a wizard.’²¹ Farnworth’s rage spills over on every page of this short tract, hammering his point home:

woe, woe, woe to all that go to Wizards, to take counsell... such are rebellious children, and in unity with the Prince of darknesse, and the King of the bottomlesse pit, and guided by

¹⁶ J. Cotta, *The Triall Of Witch-craft* (London: George Purslowe for Samuel Rand, 1616), 26-27.

¹⁷ Gaule, *Select Cases of Conscience*, 31, referring to 2 Corinthians 11:14.

¹⁸ *Mystery*, 232-33.

¹⁹ *Discourse*, 156.

²⁰ See Clark, *Thinking With Demons*, 490-97, 502-8.

²¹ R. Farnworth, *Witchcraft Cast out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God* (London: for Giles Calvert, 1655), title-page.

the Devil's Spirit, that go to take counsell of the black Artists, Nicromancers, or the Divil's Wise men, Inchanters, Wizards, Sorcerers, and Witches[.]²²

On one level Farnworth was writing to combat the widespread accusations of witchcraft that were 'levelled at the Quakers with inordinate frequency'; this was 'only part of a much wider campaign of vilification levelled at members of the sect in its early years.'²³

Farnworth's tract was, as Owen Davies writes, presumably aimed at helping 'distance the Friends from suspicions that they condoned or engaged in such magic.'²⁴ In fact, 'The Quaker position concerning cunning-folk and their clients was no different to that of the Anglican authorities'.²⁵ They 'that go after the familiar Spirits and Wizards, are gone a whoring; such the Lords face is set against, and he will cut them off from among his people and his sanctified ones' wrote George Fox, echoing Leviticus.²⁶ Fox was one of the most prominent Quakers, regularly accused of witchcraft himself.²⁷

Those authors sceptical of the diabolical compact also condemned white witches. According to Reginald Scot, while those who believed themselves to be black witches were either stupid or mentally ill,²⁸ white witches, those who 'either for glorie, fame, or gaine,' claimed power in 'foretelling of things to come, bewraing of secrets, curing of maladies, or working of miracles', were 'absolutelie cooseners.'²⁹ Their powers had no basis in reality, diabolical or otherwise. As Philip Almond writes, Scot was

as opposed to the cunning man or woman as any of his Protestant contemporaries... they, because they believed that the cunning person, whether acting with good or ill intent, was in league with the Devil; he, because he believed that they were all alike charlatans. In contrast to his peers who demonised witches, Scot disempowered them.³⁰

Scot castigated the clergy for perpetuating the belief; although here he was in agreement with other authors of witchcraft theory:

²² Ibid., 5.

²³ Elmer, 'Quakerism, demonology and the decline of witchcraft' in Barry, Hester & Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, 145, 156.

²⁴ *Popular Magic*, 37.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ G. Fox, *A Declaration of The Ground of Error & Errors* (London: for Giles Calvert, 1657), 24.

²⁷ Elmer, 'Quakerism' in Barry, Hester & Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, 147.

²⁸ See e.g. R. Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* (London: Henry Denham for William Brome, 1584), 7-9.

²⁹ Ibid., 9.

³⁰ P. C. Almond, *England's First Demonologist – Reginald Scot & 'The Discoverie of Witchcraft'* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 53.

euen where a man shuld seeke comfort and counsell, there shall hee be sent (in case of necessitie) from God to the diuell; and from the Physician, to the coosening witch, who will not sticke to take vpon hir, by wordes to heale the lame... And they attaine such credit, as I haue heard (to my greefe) some of the ministerie affirme, that they haue had in their parish at one instant, xvii. or xviii. witches: meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturallie. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelitie and ignorance, in conceiuing Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselues might vnderstand, and also teach their parishioners, that God onelie worketh great woonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect[.]³¹

Once again idolatry is at the root: the fraudulence of white witches was a claim to a power which belonged only to God; just as those who believed others to have that power were similarly idolatrous. Where less sceptical writers saw idolatry in seeking help from the Devil, Scot simply extended the insult to providence to include ascribing any power to the Devil in the first place.

Similarly, idolatry lay at the root of Scot's fellow sceptics Thomas Ady and Robert Filmer's equally strong condemnations of white witches. Ady wrote in his *A Candle in the Dark* (1655): 'many indeed have been led after Southsayers, but they are termed good Witches, and whereas they as Witches ought to dye, many have been put to death by their devilish false accusations'.³² As Filmer expressed it in *An Advertisement To The Jury-men Of England, Touching Witches* (1653), the fraudulent claim to power was bad enough, never mind whether it had any basis in truth:

It was crime sufficient for all those practicers of unlawfull Arts to delude the people, with false and lying Prophecies, thereby to make them forget to depend upon God... This spirituall whoredome is flat Idolatry... and those that be entisers to it, thereby endeavour to destroy the Soules of the People, and are by many degrees more worthy of death, then those that only destroy the Bodies or Goods of Men.³³

As Clark explains, 'What Filmer found so culpable was the *pretence* that witchcraft and magic has a real basis in the use of 'familiar spirits' or in pacts with devils; that they did

³¹ *Discoverie*, 4.

³² T. Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London: for Robert Ibbitson, 1655), 40, 108.

³³ R. Filmer, *An Advertisement To The Jury-men Of England, Touching Witches* (London: I[ohn] G[rismond] for Richard Royston, 1653), 16.

have such a basis he rejected.³⁴ The difference between this and orthodox witchcraft theory is slight: for both, seeking help from the Devil was idolatrous; the difference was in the amount of power and involvement the Devil was believed to have. In both cases the root sin was the idolatry of turning away from God and seeking power elsewhere, whether or not that power had any basis in reality. Belief in the beneficent power of white witches was dangerously erroneous: this message was clear, on whichever side of the diabolism question writers on witchcraft stood.

These theories appear to have been wildly at odds with popular views on the subject of beneficent magic. 'In attacking the good witch,' Leland Estes has written, 'Perkins drifted so far from the common conception of witchcraft, as it emerges from the trial records, that it is hard to believe that he is talking about the same thing.'³⁵ Clark writes that:

It is clear that at the end of the sixteenth century ordinary people still had ideas about misfortune, about magic and witchcraft, and (ultimately) about the sources of good and evil in the world which could be radically at odds with those of their reformers.³⁶

Robin Briggs' analysis, based on research into views of witchcraft at the local level, arrives at the same conclusion: the approach of Protestant witchcraft theorists, he writes,

brought two fundamentally incompatible views of the world into direct collision and left the reformers with the task of propagating a remarkably unattractive doctrine. They had to tell believers that it was sinful to look for relief against their troubles from the helpers on whom they had normally relied.³⁷

It was precisely this disparity that drove witchcraft theorists to foreground the attack on white magic. It will be of major significance for a consideration of the commercial impact of these works later in this thesis. For now it is important to note that it means we should see these works not just as works of scholarly theory but as works of polemic, engaged in a crusade of reform. And their polemical programme had its roots in a much wider

³⁴ *Thinking With Demons*, 523.

³⁵ L. L. Estes, 'Good Witches, Wise Men, Astrologers, and Scientists: William Perkins and the Limits of the European Witch-Hunts' in A. G. Debus & I. Merkel (eds), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance – Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (London & Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), 159.

³⁶ S. Clark, 'Protestant Demonology' in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 71-72. See also Clark, *Thinking With Demons*, 457.

³⁷ *Witches and Neighbours*, 106.

ideological divide. The question was ultimately one of the correct response to affliction, and the Protestant attempt to change the ways in which ordinary people reacted in times of trouble. Attacks on white witches and calls for moderation regarding black witches, as Alexandra Walsham writes, ‘were part of an all-out assault on what were perceived as fundamentally non-Protestant ways of explaining and alleviating misfortune.’³⁸ As such, theoretical writing on witchcraft can only be understood in the context of the wider programme of theological reform of which it was a small part.

Both blaming black witches for affliction and seeking help from white witches to remove it were blasphemous challenges to providence. ‘Doth not Satans Policy in this trade of *Witchcraft*, pretending to afflict and hurt’, asked Cooper, ‘Plainely *obscure* and *abolish* out of the minds of men, *the Providence of the Almighty*, as if Satan were not subiect to God, and sent by his prouidence[?]’³⁹ Bernard’s witchcraft treatise opened with a chapter entitled ‘*Gods hand is first to be considered in all crosses, whatsoever the meanes be, and whosoever the instruments*’.⁴⁰ John Pelling, in a *Sermon of Providence* (1607), explained that ‘whatsoever therefore happeneth otherwise then we would haue it, know, that it is not otherwise then God would haue it. It is according to his prouidence, his order’,⁴¹ and this was the doctrine applied in witchcraft theory. ‘Since God has appointed those very circumstances which the individual desires to change, any unlawful attempt to initiate change [such as visiting a white witch] is a sin against God.’⁴² Scot held the same view; blaming witches for misfortune instead of recognising the hand of God in all misfortune, was blasphemous and idolatrous: ‘For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a witch; then is it false, that God maketh vs liue or die, or that by him we haue our being, our terme of time appointed, and our daies numbred’.⁴³ Scot simply went further than other writers on witchcraft, ascribing all misfortune to God and none whatsoever to the Devil (even as God’s instrument). Blaming adversity on witches was also an impious refusal to acknowledge one’s own sins. For it was sin that provoked God into allowing suffering: ‘the fault is in men, the sinnes of the people giue power to the deuill’ wrote Gifford.⁴⁴ ‘If a mans own sinnes prouoke not God,’ wrote Bernard, ‘wee need feare neither Witch, nor

³⁸ A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 28.

³⁹ *Mystery*, 319-20.

⁴⁰ *A Guide To Grand-Irry Men*, 1.

⁴¹ J. Pelling, *A Sermon of the Providence of God* (London: Nicholas Okes for Nathaniel Butter, 1607), 20.

⁴² A. Thompson, *The Art of Suffering and the Impact of Seventeenth-Century Anti-Providential Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 3.

⁴³ *Discoverie*, B5^r. Filmer agreed; see *Advertisement*, 15-16.

⁴⁴ G. Gifford, *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes* (London: John Windet for Toby Cooke & Mihil Hart, 1593), K1^v.

Diuell.’⁴⁵ And no-one put it more succinctly than Scot did in the opening pages of his treatise: ‘we our selues are the causes of our afflictions’.⁴⁶ Affliction was sent by God – *maleficium* was just one of many kinds of affliction – and the correct way to respond was not to challenge it but to submit.

These doctrines were the driving force behind English witchcraft theory. They were fundamental to the ways in which witchcraft theory was constructed in all these works, and they explain why the attack on white magic is so prominent. They arise not from a specific interest in witchcraft but in a concern for more fundamental problems of providence, sin and affliction. As Clark writes, ‘Unambiguously malevolent witchcraft, with its explicit demonic allegiance and acts of *maleficium*, was in fact rarely considered outside this framework.’⁴⁷ In recognising that *maleficium* was just one possible misfortune of many, we can begin to see how works on witchcraft were just particular applications of a larger ideological programme.

This can be clearly seen in the other works the authors of witchcraft theory published, in which the same ideology underlies discussion of other topics. Henry Holland, for example, author of *A Treatise Against VVitchcraft* (1590), also wrote a treatise on the plague, in which he made it brutally clear that ‘our sinnes cause the pestilence’, just as they did witchcraft; and for cure, ‘the wicked run to any of the creatures, rather then to God, yea sometimes to Sathan himselfe, before they seeke any refuge or comfort in the Almighty’.⁴⁸ As Perkins wrote in *A golden Chaine* (1600), ‘the afflictions of the faithfull, come not by chance, but by the counsell & prouidence of God, which disposeth all things in a most excellent sort.’⁴⁹ No matter what, he wrote elsewhere, ‘in aduersitie under the crosse when all goes against us we must be content, because Gods prouidence hath so appointed.’⁵⁰ Throughout his works Perkins made clear that true faith begins with acknowledgement of personal sin.⁵¹ Alexander Roberts, author of *A Treatise of Witchcraft* (1616), wrote elsewhere: ‘When the hand of God lyeth heauy vpon vs, specially in any extraordinarie tribulation, or agonie of death, then we must *submit our selues* humbly vnder

⁴⁵ *A Gvide To Grand-Irry Men*, 79.

⁴⁶ *Discoverie*, 3.

⁴⁷ ‘Protestant Demonology’ in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 63.

⁴⁸ H. Holland, *Spiritual Preseruatiues against the pestilence*, (London: Richard Field & Thomas Scarlet for Thomas Man, 1603), A8^r, 5.

⁴⁹ W. Perkins, *A golden Chaine: Or, The Description of Theologie* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1600), 137.

⁵⁰ W. Perkins, *An Exposition Of The Symbole Or Creed Of The Apostles* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1595), 100.

⁵¹ See e.g. *ibid.*, 13; *id.*, *The Foundation of Christian religion* (London: Thomas Orwin for John Porter, 1590), 16.

the same.⁵² In an allegorical treatise on sin, Bernard described it in similar terms to his descriptions of the popular opinion of witches:

This *Villaine* bereaueth vs of our goods, driueth away our cattell, spoileth vs of euery temporall blessing, of our health, our peace, our liberty, and plenty. He it is that vtterly vndoeth vs, and maketh our estate miserable[.]⁵³

Sin was the real danger, not witches. Erroneous belief regarding witchcraft was a symptom of a failure to acknowledge the power of providence and one's own sins, a failure these writers saw throughout society, affecting all areas of life. Works on witchcraft were part of this wider polemical programme aimed at changing popular understanding of sin and suffering.

How closely these conceptions were connected with wider ideas may also be seen in the fact that witchcraft (black and white) was often used as an apposite illustration of the doctrine of providence in more general discussions of the subject. Ralph Walker, for example, wrote in his *Learned And Profitable Treatise Of Gods Providence* (1608):

whereas all aduersities and crosses both in vs and in ours come from God, as the sole inflicter of them, wee are hereby also taught, when the hand of God is vpon vs either of these waies, to haue recourse wholly vnto him for helpe and remedie... Hence is condemned that vile and damnable practise of many, who for the curing of themselves, sauing of their cattell, or finding of that which is lost, will presently forsake God, & haue recourse vnto the diuell by his seruants the Witches[.]⁵⁴

When 'any crosse, affliction, iudgement, losse, or tribulation doth befall vs,' wrote Robert Gray, 'we must confesse & acknowledge, that God hath appointed, ordeined, inflicted & laid the same vpon vs, & not the starres, nor Fortune, nor Planets, nor Destiny, nor the diuell, nor man, nor any other creature in heauen or earth'.⁵⁵ For 'what can a whole Legion of Deuils doe to one swine, without leaue graunted from the Lord?' wrote Gervase Babington; 'Euery way then, it is y^e Lord, & euery way therefore, we ought to seeke to the

⁵² A. Roberts, *A Sacred Septenarie* (London: E. G. for Samuel Man, 1614), 124.

⁵³ R. Bernard, *The Isle Of Man* (London: for Edward Blackmore, 1626), 4-5.

⁵⁴ R. Walker, *A Learned and Profitable Treatise of Gods Providence* (London: Felix Kingston for Thomas Man, 1608), 331-33.

⁵⁵ R. Gray, *An Alarm to England* (London: S. S. for John Budge, 1609), C4r.

Lord, & not to Witches, and Sorcerers.’⁵⁶ These were not examples of witchcraft theory but of providential theory, of which witchcraft was merely an illustrative example.

The solutions proposed to the problem of witchcraft by the clerical authors in particular were evangelical and pastoral, and here we can see most clearly how witchcraft writing was a small part of the wider project of Protestant social reform. Holland, for example, sets out six ‘Preseruatives’ against witchcraft: ‘First, faith, 2, prayer, 3. a righteous life, 4. the word of God, 5. repentance, and sixtlie the continuall most gracious prouidence of God’.⁵⁷ In contrast to the folk remedies prescribed by cunning folk and subscribed to by many ordinary parishioners, Holland claims that only a Puritan household, run with ‘godly domesticall discipline’ was the way to avoid ‘vncleane spirits’.⁵⁸ It was this particular emphasis (rather than any fundamentally divergent theological foundation) that defined Protestant witchcraft theory against its Catholic counterpart, as Clark has demonstrated.⁵⁹ The solutions and correctives to erroneous belief regarding witchcraft put forward by these writers are typically Puritan in their ‘insistence on the need for constant and vigilant self-examination by the individual’,⁶⁰ as well as ‘dedication to preaching... emphasis on the propagation of the Word... [and] on the pastoral activities of the minister’.⁶¹ The latter was fundamental to all these writers’ approaches to witchcraft belief. As Holland put it, ‘the ministerie of Gods worde is the most certen and principall good meanes ordained of God, for the discouerie and confusion of witchcraft.’⁶² Perkins leaves no room for doubt:

In this our Church, if we would be healed of our wounds, and banish Satan from among vs, who greatly annoieth a great number of our people by his delusions and damnable practises of Sorcerie: the onely way to bring it to passe, is the maintaining of a learned Ministerie[.]⁶³

⁵⁶ G. Babington, *Comfortable Notes Vpon the bookes of Exodus and Leuiticus* (London: for Thomas Chard, 1604), 109.

⁵⁷ *Treatise*, H2^r.

⁵⁸ *Treatise*, H1^v-H2^r. See J. Morgan, *Godly Learning – Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chapter 8, for a discussion of the importance of the godly household to Puritans.

⁵⁹ Clark, ‘Protestant Demonology’ in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 62.

⁶⁰ C. Durston & J. Eales, ‘Introduction: the Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700’ in id. (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), 10.

⁶¹ Morgan, *Godly Learning*, 13. See Clark, *Thinking With Demons*, 449.

⁶² *Treatise*, I1^r.

⁶³ *Discourse*, 229.

Bernard placed a preaching ministry foremost among his list of ways to prevent the power of devils and witches.⁶⁴ When Holland writes that ‘Negligent pastors, non residents, blinde guides, &c. cause the arts of witchcraft to breed and continue in our land’,⁶⁵ it becomes clear that there are larger issues at stake than just witchcraft.

The problem being addressed was not witchcraft but underlying issues of which it was only a symptom. These wider problems and their solution in a learned ministry are found across the other work published by the authors of witchcraft theory, further illustrative of how their writing on witchcraft originated in this wider context. In an earlier dialogue, for instance, Gifford had complained that:

our church therefore & common wealth, being the Lords husbandrie, is ouergrowne with weedes & almost laid waste... Among which the want of a sincere ministerie of the woorde is the greatest through absence of which there is a flood of ignorance and darknes, ouerflowing the most part of the land[.]⁶⁶

In *A Dialogue Betweene a Papist and a Protestant* (1582), Gifford blames another spiritual ill, the proliferation of Catholicism and ‘Church Papist[s]’, on the ‘many abuses in the ministry’ which lead men to ‘stumble and loth the Gospel’.⁶⁷ All Gifford’s writings, Timothy McGinnis suggests, ‘must be read in the context of an impatient demand for reform of the church and its ministry’.⁶⁸ Likewise Holland in *Dauids Faith And Repentance* (1589) hoped to effect in ‘the simple’, ‘a more diligent meditation in holy Scriptures, and... a greater reuerence & attention vnto the publique ministerie of Gods word’.⁶⁹ ‘Faith commeth onelie by the preaching of the word, and increaseth daylie by it’, wrote Perkins in his *Foundation of Christian Religion* (1591).⁷⁰ Elsewhere he made explicit his calls for the Government to do more for the maintenance of the ministry.⁷¹ Perkins claimed that ‘none can beleue in God but hee must first of all heare and be taught by the ministerie of the word to know God

⁶⁴ *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 184-87. See also Cooper, *Mystery*, A5^{r-v}.

⁶⁵ *Treatise*, K4^v n.

⁶⁶ G. Gifford, *A Brieve discourse of certaine points of the religion which is among the common sort of Christians, which may bee termed the Countrie Diuinitie* (London: for Toby Cooke, 1581), ¶ 3^r.

⁶⁷ G. Gifford, *A Dialogue Betweene a Papist and a Protestant applied to the capacitie of the vnlearned* (London: Thomas Dawson for Toby Cooke, 1582), A1^v, ¶ 4^r.

⁶⁸ T. S. McGinnis, *George Gifford and the Reformation of the Common Sort – Puritan Priorities in Elizabethan Religious Life* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2004), 7.

⁶⁹ H. Holland, *Dauids Faith And Repentance* (London: Richard Field, 1589), *5^r.

⁷⁰ *The Foundation of Christian religion*, A5^r; see also B8^v.

⁷¹ W. Perkins, *Of The Calling of the Ministerie*, ed. W. Crashawe (London: I. R. for William Welby, 1605), 22-24 & 100-1 (2nd pagination).

aright.⁷² There were, it is clear, absolutely fundamental issues at stake here; nothing less than the status of the Protestant faith itself.

Cooper blamed the prevalence of (non-supernatural) murder on ignorance, particularly of the gospel, in his *The Cry and Renenge of Blood* (1620), a news pamphlet reporting a murder which included theodicean speculations on the nature of murder and how it accorded with providence.⁷³ And Cooper echoed calls for a larger and more godly ministry in his *A Familiar Treatise, laying downe Cases of Conscience* (1615): ‘The supply of powerful ministerie is a gracious meanes of reformation... where the Lord continues a powerfull Ministerie to his Church, there howsoever there may bee some decaies and grosse corruptions, yet there is hope in Israel concerning this.’⁷⁴ Roberts made the same point: ‘ignorance of God and of his will, is the originall of all euill... Let vs seeke to obtaine all those good meanes by which wee may come to the true knowledge of God; and suffer his word to dwell richly or plentifully in vs in all wisdom.’⁷⁵ Roberts then discusses these means, which include prayer and private reading of Scripture, as well as ‘the often, reuerent and diligent attention vnto the publike ministerie, which God hath appointed to open the eyes of men, that they might be brought from darknes to light, from the power of Satan vnto God’.⁷⁶ In his treatise *A Weekes Worke* (1616), Bernard exhorted his readers to ‘haue alwaies a loue vnto the Word, a reuerend estimation of his Ministers, and a religious care to sanctifie the Sabbath; three things most vsually of a very prophane carelesnesse, neglected & despised.’⁷⁷ Bernard had written a whole treatise intended for trainee ministers, in which he claimed ‘that men thorough the preaching of the Word conscionably, are brought to more euen ciuill humanitie, than, by the lawes of man’.⁷⁸ The ministry was central to wider projects of reform, projects which comprise the context from which works of English witchcraft theory originated. It was in these terms that the problem of witchcraft was addressed because erroneous beliefs about witchcraft were merely symptoms of these larger problems.

The similarity of these ideas to the ideas of others who never wrote on witchcraft demonstrates how deeply connected to their context – to this wider reforming programme – works of witchcraft theory were. ‘The people are not taught as they should be, but liue still in blindnes and errour, in ignorance and superstition, to the no little preiudice and

⁷² *An Exposition Of The Symbole*, 22.

⁷³ T. Cooper, *The Cry and Renenge of Blood* (London: Nicholas Okes for John Wright, 1620), 14.

⁷⁴ T. Cooper, *A Familiar Treatise, laying downe Cases of Conscience*, (London: John Beale for William Welby, 1615), 2 and n.

⁷⁵ *Sacred Septenarie*, 55-56.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷⁷ R. Bernard, *A Weekes Worke* (London: Felix Kingston to be sold by Nathaniel Newberry, 1616), 15-16.

⁷⁸ R. Bernard, *The Faithfull Shepherd* (London: Arnold Hatfield for John Bill, 1607), 2.

slaughter of the Gospell, dishonor of God, and the exceeding hazard of their soules', wrote Richard Eburne.⁷⁹ Thomas Tuke claimed that all the sins described in his tract of 1616 – murder, poisoning, pride, ambition, adultery, women wearing make-up, as well as witchcraft – had one root: 'Disobedience to the Ministry of the Word.'⁸⁰ Richard Greenham, whose collected works Holland edited, wrote that 'no iudgement from heauen, no trouble from earth can humble vs, no blessing from aboue, no benefit from beneath can profit vs, vntill the word of God commeth'.⁸¹ 'Neither is there any meanes in the world, so effectuall to worke the conuersion of a sinner, or to bring him vnto faith in Christ, as the Ministerie of the word' wrote George Downame.⁸²

Witchcraft theory drew for its form and purpose on this wider ideology, and the treatises which disseminated it were part of a programme of polemical publishing aimed at reforming popular belief – 'acculturation by text', as Clark calls it.⁸³ From this perspective, it is hard to see how we can consider these writings 'a distinctive corpus of demonological works'.⁸⁴ Clark has problematised the concept of 'demonologists',⁸⁵ and that his arguments apply to the concept of English witchcraft theory can be seen in the fact that those who wrote on witchcraft in England published works on many other topics, utilising the same literary forms, and unified by these wider concerns with providence, sin and reform of the ministry. Many of these have already been mentioned; a few more examples may suffice to demonstrate how embedded works of witchcraft theory were in their intellectual and literary context.

As well as his dialogues, each of which picked out a different area in which there was need for reform, Gifford also published a catechism and a variety of sermons, all expressing the same reforming ideology.⁸⁶ These were 'but aspects of the larger purpose which animated him and gave unity to his career, that of the preacher and educator seeking to enlighten with proper religious understanding the ordinary folk of Elizabethan

⁷⁹ R. Eburne, *The Maintenance of the Ministerie* (London: T. C. for Eleazar Edgar, 1609), 6.

⁸⁰ T. Tuke, *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (London: for Edward Marchant, 1616), title-page.

⁸¹ R. Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Iesvs Christ M. Richard Greenham* (3rd ed.), ed. H. Holland (London: Felix Kingston for Robert Dexter, 1601), 92.

⁸² G. Downame, *Two Sermons, The One Commending the Ministerie in Generall: The Other Defending the Office of Bishops in particular* (London: Felix Kingston to be sold by Matthew Lownes, 1608), 27-28.

⁸³ *Thinking With Demons*, 509ff.

⁸⁴ Sharpe (ed.), *English Witchcraft*, I, xxv, although Sharpe does acknowledge that within the treatises 'witchcraft was perceived as an issue within' the 'broader objectives of the English Reformation', *ibid.*, xxv.

⁸⁵ *Thinking With Demons*, viii-ix.

⁸⁶ G. Gifford, *A Catechisme conteining the summe of Christian religion* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1583) and e.g. *Foure Sermons vpon the seuen chiefe vertues or principall effectes of faith and the doctrine of election* (London: Thomas Dawson for Toby Cooke, 1582), *A Sermon on the Parable of the Sower* (London: Thomas East for Toby Cooke, 1582), *A Godlie, zealous, and profitable Sermon vpon the second Chapter of Saint Iames* (London: Thomas East for Toby Cooke, 1582).

England'.⁸⁷ As well as his treatises on the plague and repentance, Holland published an exposition of the Book of Job, another important Scriptural basis of the doctrine of providential affliction; Clark calls it the 'scriptural cornerstone'⁸⁸ of this aspect of witchcraft theory. In adversity, Holland wrote, 'let vs not so much thinke vpon the secondary causes and meanes, as vpon the al-sufficient and most provident God which is not tyed vnto meanes as carnall wittes and blind hearts haue imagined.'⁸⁹ Perkins' witchcraft treatise was just one piece of an enormous publishing venture which saw him put into print treatises on conscience, grace, idolatry, death, as well as two major theological summaries, *The Foundation of Christian Religion* and *A golden Chaine*.⁹⁰ Perkins also published an attack on astrology in which, once again, he stressed that 'we must not trust vnto our selues, but fixe all our confidence in the mercy and prouidence of God... without whose goodnesse, nothyng can come to passe, doe what we will.'⁹¹ Gaule would also publish a treatise attacking astrologers, in which he conflated them with witches good and bad.⁹² The treatises of Cooper and Bernard too were part of a larger pastoral publishing programme which included, respectively, works on charity, conscience and the doctrine of providence applied to the Gunpowder Plot; on conscience again, on the Creed, on charity again and another catechism – all works of practical divinity with a reforming purpose.⁹³ Witchcraft did not have any special ideological prominence within these wider publishing programmes. Seen in their proper context, therefore, we gain an important perspective on individual works. They become less significant as individual pieces, and more readily

⁸⁷ D. D. Wallace Jr., 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda and Popular Religion in Elizabethan England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9, 1 (1978), 28.

⁸⁸ 'Protestant Demonology' in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 62. See also Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours*, 106.

⁸⁹ H. Holland, *The Christian Exercise Of Fasting... Hereunto also are added some meditations on the 1. and 2. chapters of Iob* (London: Joan Orwin for William Young, 1596), 159.

⁹⁰ W. Perkins, *A Discovrse Of Conscience* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1596), *A Graine Of Musterd-seed, Or, The Least measure of grace that is or can be effectuall to Saluation* (London: Thomas Creed for Ralph Jackson and Hugh Burwell, 1597), *A Warning against The Idolatrie Of the last times* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1601), *A salve for a sicke man, or, A treatise containing the nature, differences, and kindes of death as also the right manner of dying well* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1595), *The Foundation of Christian Religion* and *A golden Chaine* (the latter first published in Latin as *Armilla Aurea* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1590)).

⁹¹ W. Perkins, *Foure Great Lyers* (London: Robert Waldegrave, 1585?), B1v; see also B3vff.

⁹² J. Gaule, *Πῶς-μαρία The Mag-astro-mancer* (London: for Joshua Kirton, 1652).

⁹³ T. Cooper, *The Art Of Gining* (London: Thomas Snodham for Thomas Pavier, 1615), *A Familiar Treatise and A Brand taken out of the Fire* (London: George Elde & Thomas Purfoot for John Hodgettes, 1606); R. Bernard, *Christian See To Thy Conscience* (London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1631), *Good Christian Looke To Thy Creede* (London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1630), *The Ready Way To Good Works, Or, A Treatise of Charitie* (London: Felix Kingston to be sold by Edward Blackmore, 1635) and *A Large Catechisme* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1602).

understood as smaller weapons in larger battles, waged in print⁹⁴ with a common ideological purpose.

The pastoral concerns of these authors are echoed in the forms their works took, which also took their cue from wider movements. With the exception of Scot's *Discoverie*, these were not large scholarly works but small, usually relatively short works, with few passages of untranslated Latin. They were 'aimed at a general lay audience... rather than academic specialists.'⁹⁵ Their engagement with wider theory was reflected in the authorities they cited, which were predominantly Scriptural. The ways in which works on witchcraft were cited will be discussed in 3.3; here it is only necessary to note that works on witchcraft were cited alongside and just as frequently as more general theological works, classical works and, above all, Scripture. Perkins' *Discourse* in particular may well have provided the model for later works. Perkins' editor claims that the *Discourse* was based on sermons, 'Framed and delivered... in his ordinarie course of Preaching',⁹⁶ but I have uncovered a claim by an earlier editor of Perkins' works which contradicts it: William Crashawe claimed in 1605 to have had the witchcraft treatise in preparation, having found it complete among Perkins' papers.⁹⁷ Whatever the case it is exemplary in form, an octavo of slightly less than nineteen sheets, giving a systematic analysis of the nature of witchcraft, based around a developing series of questions. Perkins chiefly cites Scripture, with a handful of other references to theological authorities and demonologists.

The early part of the period saw a number of dialogues, a form particularly well-suited to pastoral evangelism. After trying his hand at a more formal treatise, Gifford turned to the dialogue form for his second foray into witchcraft theory, *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes* (1593). He wrote that he did so to make it 'fitter for the capacity of the simpler sort.'⁹⁸ It was a form he had already used successfully in his *Briefe discourse of certaine points of the religion which is among the common sort of Christians, which may bee termed the Countrie Diuinitie* (1581) and *Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant*, his two most popular works. The first half of Holland's *Treatise* was also a dialogue; although the tone is more

⁹⁴ Though of course it should be noted that print was just one wing of the assault; oral preaching was also important.

⁹⁵ Clark, 'Protestant Demonology' in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 57.

⁹⁶ *Discourse*, title-page.

⁹⁷ See W. Crashawe, 'To the Reader' in Perkins, *Of the Calling of the Ministerie*; Crashawe writes of the treatises he has found, among which is the witchcraft treatise, 'All these he [Perkins] had perused himselfe, and made them ready for the presse', ^rA6^v. The relationship of these claims to the ultimate publication of the *Discourse* in 1608 is unclear. Estes claims the work circulated in manuscript before Perkins' death, but offers no source; 'Good Witches' in Debus & Merkel (eds), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance*, 163 n.3.

⁹⁸ *Dialogue*, A3^r.

scholarly than Gifford's, Holland stresses the importance of writing in the vernacular.⁹⁹ James I's *Daemonologie* (first printed in England in 1603) also used the form, stating that he chose it 'to make this treatise the more pleasaunt and facill'.¹⁰⁰ There was a long tradition of the dialogue form in Continental demonology, partly because it grew out of the scholastic tradition, but mainly because, as Clark writes, witchcraft was recognised a 'difficult topic, on which many reservations and doubts might be expressed.'¹⁰¹ But the dialogue was also a popular form among Elizabethan reformers more generally, particularly because of its capacity to appeal to less well-educated audiences,¹⁰² and its use by these authors further supports the sense of their demonologies as works informed by wider cultural movements and reforming programmes.

The final decades of the period saw a move towards the short polemical pamphlet: Matthew Hopkins' *The Discovery of Witches* (1647), John Stearne's *A Confirmation And Discovery of Witchcraft* (1648), Filmer's *Advertisement* and Farnworth's *Witchcraft Cast out* all took this form, the longest being Stearne's, at nine sheets in quarto; the others significantly shorter. No doubt this was in keeping with the widespread pamphlet culture of the 1640s and 50s,¹⁰³ as well as with the immediate polemical intentions of all four of these works. The works of the witchfinders Hopkins and Stearne were dashed off at speed in reply to attacks on their practices.¹⁰⁴ Filmer's and Farnworth's works too were both engaging in immediate political controversies which suited the very brief pamphlet form.¹⁰⁵

The treatises were dedicated to those who were in a position to put their pastoral programme into effect: predominantly justices of the peace and other law officers, fellow ministers, and those likely to sit on juries. Two of the works, Scot's *Discoverie* and Bernard's *Gvide*, were dedicated to Lord Chief Barons of the Court of Exchequer. Scot also dedicated his treatise to his cousin Sir Thomas Scot, MP and JP, and two clerics, the Dean of Rochester and the Archdeacon of Canterbury. Bernard's treatise was also dedicated to a cleric, the Archdeacon of Wells, and a lawyer, the Chancellor to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as well as a Baron of the Court of Exchequer.¹⁰⁶ Gifford's *Dialogue* was also

⁹⁹ *Treatise*, B1r.

¹⁰⁰ James I, *Daemonologie* (London: Richard Braddock for William Aspley & William Cotton, 1603), A2v.

¹⁰¹ S. Clark, 'Demonology' in B. Ankarloo, S. Clark, W. Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe – The Period of the Witch Trials* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 123.

¹⁰² See A. B. Zlatar, *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), chapters 1 and 8.

¹⁰³ See J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapter 6.

¹⁰⁴ See Gaskill, *Witchfinders*, 258-61 & 269-70.

¹⁰⁵ On Filmer see Bostridge, *Witchcraft and its Transformations*, 13-20; on Farnworth see above.

¹⁰⁶ Scot, *Discoverie*, A2r, A6r, A8r; Bernard, *A Gvide To Grand-Irry Men*, A3r, A5r.

dedicated to a Baron of the Court of Exchequer.¹⁰⁷ Perkins' (by his editor) and Cotta's treatises were dedicated to Sir Edward Coke,¹⁰⁸ Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and, by the time of Cotta's dedication, Chief Justice of the king's bench and member of the Privy Council. No doubt Coke's Puritan sympathies were also a factor.¹⁰⁹ But, like the others, the intention seems to have been to attract the attention of those who could enforce the changes being recommended. In the second edition of his treatise, Cotta added a further dedication to Sir James Ley, Coke's successor as Lord Chief Justice.¹¹⁰ Perkins' treatise contained advice intended specifically for magistrates and juries.¹¹¹ Bernard's and Filmer's works were both explicitly aimed at jury-men, of course. Roberts and Cooper both dedicated their treatises to the mayor and other local officials of their respective towns.¹¹² Gaule's treatise was dedicated to his patron Valentine Wauton, an MP, as well as to 'the other worthy Gentlemen' of the House of Commons.¹¹³ And, after a dedication to God, Ady's treatise included a dedication 'To the more Judicious and Wise, and Discreet part of the Clergie of England'. Ady's target audience was also explicitly legal, however; the work's title-page advertised that it was 'profitable to bee read by all Judges of Assizes' and the work concluded with a section headed 'Instructions for Lawyers'.¹¹⁴ Holland's treatise was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, presumably partly because of the latter's known Puritan sympathies.¹¹⁵ There is clearly a theme here: these authors wanted the law tightened up and they dedicated their works accordingly. The works were part of a wider practical programme and they were targeted with the intention of putting that programme into effect. They do not, however, appear to have been successful: there was no tightening of the law, and little interest in prosecuting cunning folk throughout the period,¹¹⁶ nor in expanding the ministry. That the desired reforms did not take effect is reflected in the fact that there was felt to be a continuing need for such works to be published throughout the period. We shall see later on how this lack of impact can be traced through the marketplace of print and beyond.

¹⁰⁷ *Dialogve*, A2^r.

¹⁰⁸ Perkins, *Discourse*, ¶2^r; Cotta, *Trial*, A2^r.

¹⁰⁹ See A. D. Boyer, 'Coke, Sir Edward (1552-1634)' in *DNB*.

¹¹⁰ J. Cotta, *The Infallible Trve And Assured VVitch* (2nd ed.; London: John Legate for Richard Higgenbotham, 1624), ¶2^r.

¹¹¹ E.g. *Discourse*, 200-19.

¹¹² A. Roberts, *A Treatise of Witchcraft* (London: Nicholas Okes for Samuel Rand, 1616), A2^r; Cooper, *Mystery*, A2^r.

¹¹³ *Select Cases of Conscience*, A2^r.

¹¹⁴ *A Candle in the Dark*, B1^r, B2^r, title-page, 164 (mis-numbered 172).

¹¹⁵ *Treatise*, A2^r. See Sharpe (ed.), *English Witchcraft*, I, 375.

¹¹⁶ See Davies, *Popular Magic*, 9ff.

Witchcraft was just a symptom of deeper spiritual problems, and the solutions recommended in the witchcraft treatises were the same as were advocated across a much wider campaign of ideological reform. Attempts to reform the beliefs about witchcraft of the general populace formed just one part of a wider project which involved attempting to instil in the ‘common sort’ a recognition of the all-controlling nature of providence and of the origin of misfortune in personal sin. These writers wanted to reform society along godly lines; a particularly strong emphasis was on the necessity of an active, educated ministry, both in calls for it to be expanded and in support of ministers already working – and there is a sense in which these works are intended as guides for other pastors on dealing with these issues, as well as recommendations for legal reform. This confirms Clark’s assertions that Protestant witchcraft writing ‘was dominated by its evangelical and pastoral priorities’; it is ‘inseparable from this wider campaign.’¹¹⁷ The sceptical writers may not have been participating in wider programmes of reform in the same manner, but they drew on ideas and concepts from the same wider ideological currents. They may have denied the diabolical aspect of witchcraft, but on questions of sin, providence and affliction they were operating within the same intellectual tradition. Witchcraft was interpreted through a wider ideological and theological framework, a framework based around a programme of religious reform. The very concept of witchcraft theory, therefore, comes to seem a troubling one. Although these works had a driving ideological narrative, it was not sourced from witchcraft belief but from this wider reforming project – which was also a wider publishing project. Works of witchcraft theory were not set apart from other books but submerged within and shaped by this context.

¹¹⁷ ‘Protestant Demonology’ in Ankarloo & Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 50, 55.

1.2 Witchcraft in the news

Unlike with scholarly theory there was no ideological project behind the publication of news pamphlets, which reported specific occurrences of witchcraft (usually but not necessarily a trial). Nevertheless news pamphlets were also embedded in their context. Research on these works has focused on uncovering and analysing the events that preceded their publication¹ – but they were not published in isolation from the commercial pressures of the book trade. Their construction, I argue, was influenced by the larger field of news publishing; once again an appreciation of context allows for a more complete understanding of the nature of these works.

Such an analysis must begin with the work of Marion Gibson, who has published a detailed analysis of the genesis of witchcraft pamphlets up to 1621.² Gibson's study considers the processes by which the events behind witchcraft trials were turned into a pamphlet report, how pamphlets were constructed and by whom; beginning with the interrogation of the witch and ending with the literary construction of the pamphlets. Gibson discusses pamphlet writers, after magistrates, victims of witchcraft and the accused, as the 'final layer of representation which stands between us and the stories from the legal system' contained in the pamphlets³ – but there are more layers, more final still: the printing house and the bookseller's stall. These also shaped the forms in which these works were read. My own analysis, therefore, continues the story through the book trade. A fundamental tenet of Gibson's analysis is her 'recognition of witchcraft pamphlets as a distinct genre, which developed subgenres over the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods',⁴ and it is with this argument that this chapter is predominantly concerned. As in 1.1, I question the idea that witchcraft works can be read as an isolated unit, and suggest that determining whether or not they can be conceptualised in this way is important, as it would have affected how they were read.

Gibson argues that the witchcraft news pamphlets of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods witnessed a shift in the 1590s 'from reproduction of documents produced by the participants in witchcraft prosecutions, to narrative recreation of events.'⁵ This stylistic division is undeniably present and, generally speaking, it represents the two main types of witchcraft pamphlet. I question, however, whether it can be traced as a conscious generic

¹ See Introduction, n.8.

² M. Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft*; see also id., *Early Modern Witches*.

³ *Reading Witchcraft*, 36.

⁴ Ibid., 113.

⁵ Ibid., 114.

development. Even within Gibson's restricted period there are too many anomalies: examples of narrative accounts before 1590⁶ and of documentary accounts after 1590,⁷ some of the latter being particularly important examples. These would be less numerically significant if there were hundreds of witchcraft pamphlets; in fact only thirty-eight survive from the period this thesis is concerned with, only eighteen of which are from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods (not including three extant translations of foreign pamphlets).⁸ In addition, cutting off research at 1621, as Gibson does, distorts the picture; after this date there was a return to documentary pamphlets, with just under half the pamphlets from 1621 to the Restoration being documentary in form. These include the lengthiest and most notable examples of witchcraft news pamphlets from the latter half of the period, H. F.'s *A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the late Witches, arraigned and executed in the County of Essex* (1645) and John Davenport's *The Witches of Hvntingdon* (1646).⁹

In fact, quantitative analysis of any sort with works such as these is hazardous, for we have no idea how many similar works are now lost. The pamphlets are generally short works, usually consisting of just one or two sheets, and this physical ephemerality is compounded by the ephemerality of their topical subject matter. The majority of the pamphlets from the early part of the period survive in only one copy. From the Stationers' Register we know of just one lost work which appears almost certainly to be a witchcraft news pamphlet, *Lamentable newes from Newgate / Barnet / and Braynford beinge the indictement / arraignment / Judgement and execucon of Three wicked witches*, entered to Richard Jones in December 1595¹⁰ – but many of the surviving pamphlets were not registered. We know of

⁶ There are two extant narrative accounts from before 1590: R. Galis, *A brief treatise containing the most strange and horrible cruelty of Elizabeth Stile alias Rockingham and her confederates* (London: John Alde, 1579) and *The severall factes of Witch-crafte* (London: John Charlewood, 1585); out of just eight pamphlets published before 1590.

⁷ Examples of documentary accounts from after 1590 in Gibson's period only include: *Newes from Scotland* (London: Edward Alde for William Wright, 1592); T. Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of Witches In The Covntie Of Lancaster* (London: William Stansby for John Barnes, 1613); *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* (London: George Elde for John Barnes, 1619); H. Goodcole, *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Savvyer a Witch, late of Edmonton* (London: Augustine Mathewes for William Butler, 1621).

⁸ This is including *Newes from Scotland*, which Gibson does not, because although it is a report of a foreign trial it was written and printed in England; and not, unlike Gibson, including *The Triall of Maist. Dorell* (Middleburg: R. Schilders, 1599) because it is not advertised as a witchcraft pamphlet, or Roberts' *Treatise of Witchcraft* because although it recounts a particular case, it is bookended by significant demonological discussion; I argue that it is presented as a theoretical treatise first and a work of reportage second.

⁹ Other examples include: *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eightene VVitches. That were tried, convicted, and condemned, at a Sessions holden at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolke* (London: John Hammond, 1645); *The Tryall And Examination Of Mrs. Joan Peterson* (London: for George Horton, 1652); E. G. & H. F., *A Prodigious & Tragical History Of The Araignment, Tryall, Confession, and Condemnation of six Witches at Maidstone* (London: for Richard Harper, 1652).

¹⁰ Arber, III.55. There are two further known lost pamphlets which refer to foreign cases: *A trewe newes of A iust iustice done by the Archbishop of Mentz in Assenbergh, burninge alyue 250 nycthes*, entered in 1612, III.498; and A

a further lost pamphlet, *The Examination and Confession of a notorious Witch named Mother Arnold* (1574), because it is partially reprinted in a later anthology of news stories.¹¹

The fundamental flaw with this argument, however, is that it ignores the larger context of occasional news publishing within which witchcraft pamphlets were written, printed and published. There were patterns with which these pamphlets conformed and within which, I argue, they would have been received. These patterns come from the more general business of news dissemination, and in order to recognise them one must widen the focus of study. In order to analyse the publishing context of witchcraft pamphlets therefore, a sample of other occasional news pamphlets has been considered alongside them. They will be compared with pamphlets on other crimes (murder, robbery, treason) and on other supernatural occurrences (monstrous births, possessions). Witchcraft was a felony, after all, as well as being an existentially contested supernatural phenomenon.

Like witchcraft, these news topics are usually studied in isolation, and similar arguments to that made by Gibson for witchcraft pamphlets are made to justify this isolation. Julie Crawford has claimed, for example, that monstrous birth pamphlets ‘constitute a specific genre of popular texts... a literary genre with specific conventions and uses.’¹² Peter Lake describes murder pamphlets as ‘a fairly common literary genre’, although he adds, ‘or sub-genre’.¹³ But is such isolation justified? Joad Raymond’s overview of occasional news pamphlets describes the general forms they took, a milieu in which pamphlets on all these subjects, including witchcraft, fit quite comfortably.¹⁴ I propose to build on Raymond’s overview and look at these pamphlet groupings alongside one another, particularly with regard to their form and their publishing strategies.

One common strategy among witchcraft pamphlets is a title that expresses, often rather prosaically, those aspects of the judicial process reported within. For example: *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde* (1566); *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches* (1589); *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed* (1613); *The Examination, Confession, Triall, And Execution, Of Joane Williford, Joan Cariden, and Jane Hott* (1645); *A Prodigious & Tragical History Of The Arraignment, Tryall, Confession, and Condemnation*

Discourse of Newes from Prague in Bohemia, of an Husband who by witchcraft had murdered xviij wives, and of a wife who had likewise murdered xix husbands, entered in 1622, IV.79.

¹¹ See M. Gibson, ‘Mother Arnold: A lost witchcraft pamphlet rediscovered’, *Notes and Queries*, 45 (1998).

¹² J. Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism – Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 3.

¹³ P. Lake with M. Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat – Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 3.

¹⁴ *Pamphlets*, 104-6. See also M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476-1622* (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1966), chapter 6; S. Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers – Popular moralistic pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983), chapter 2.

of *six Witches at Maidstone* (1652). A similar strategy is found in murder reports; examples include: *The Araignment, Examination, Confession and Iudgement of Arnold Cosbye* (1591); *The Examination, confession, and condemnation of Henry Robson* (1598); *The Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Confession of Francis Deane a Salter, and of Iohn Faulkner a Strong-water man* (1643). In reports of robberies: *The Lienes, Apprehension, Araignment & Execution, of Robert Throgmorton. William Porter. Iohn Bishop* (1608); *The Araignment of Iohn Selman* (1612). And in reports of treason: *The Araignment, and Execution, of a wilfull and obstinate Traitour* (1581); *The Arraignment And Execution of the late Traytors* (1606); *The Examinations, Arraignment & Conuiction of George Sprot* (1608). Early modern readers seem to have appreciated fore-knowledge of the sources of reports, and this was not confined to any particular subject.

Another common title strategy is a stress on the truth of the account. Examples from witchcraft pamphlets include: *A true and iust Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses* (1582); *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches At Chensford* (1645); *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eightene VVitches* (1645); *A true and exact Relation* (1645). It is an extremely common formulation on murder pamphlet title-pages; to give just a few examples: *A true report of the late horrible murther* (1581); *A True Relation Of The most Inhumane and bloody Murther* (1609); *A True Relation of a most desperate Murder* (1617); *A true Relation of a barbarous and most cruell Murther* (1633); *An exact and true Relation Of A most cruell and horrid Murther* (1642); *A true Relation Of the most Horrid and Barbarous murders* (1658). Monstrous birth pamphlet titles also stressed the truth of their reports: *A Most certaine report of a monster* (1595); *A True Relation of the birth of three Monsters* (1609); *A Monstrous Birth: Or, A True Relation Of Three strange and prodigious Things like young Cats, all speckled, which came from a woman dwelling at Wetwan in Yorke-shire* (1657). Pamphlets on treason trials did likewise: *A True Report of the inditement, arraignment, conuiction, condemnation, and Execution of Iohn VVeldon, VVilliam Hartley, and Robert Sutton* (1588); *A True Report of the Araignment, tryall, conuiction, and condemnation, of a Popish Priest* (1607). The same formulations appear again and again. As we shall see, the stress on truth in particular was an essential characteristic of early modern news reporting.

Often alongside claims for truth, though equally often independently of them, were assertions of the strangeness of reports. Many witchcraft pamphlets advertised their contents as strange and wonderful: *The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys* (1593); *A Strange Report of Sixe most notorious VVitches* (1601); *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of Witches In The Covntie Of Lancaster* (1613; changed from 'great discoverie' in the Stationers'

Register, perhaps to stress this thematic trend¹⁵; *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* (1619); *A most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a witch* (1643). Emphasis on strangeness was also found on murder pamphlets: for example, *A most straunge, rare, and horrible murther* (1586); *Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers* (1591); *Strange and horrible News* (1642). Monstrous birth pamphlets, as one would expect, employed this formula: *A Most straunge, and true discourse, of the wonderfull iudgement of God. Of A Monstrous, Deformed Infant, begotten by incestuous copulation* (1600); *A right strange and vwoonderful example of the handie worke of almightie God* (1585); *A Declaration, Of a strange and Wonderfull Monster* (1646). As did possession pamphlets: *A true and strange Relation Of A Boy, Who was entertained by the Devill* (1645); *A strange and true Relation Of A Yovng Woman possest with the Devill* (1646). What made news ‘strange’? It was clearly not limited to supernatural phenomena. ‘Strange’ here suggests simply the unfamiliar and uncommon; however to contemporaries browsing London bookstalls its application to news must have been anything but.¹⁶

In fact, ‘strange news’ was such a common title formulation that Thomas Nashe was already satirising it in the 1590s.¹⁷ Along with ‘news from...’ it is found on news pamphlets across the period. Examples from witchcraft pamphlets include: *Newes from Scotland* (1592); *Wonderfull News from the North* (1650); *Doctor Lamb’s Darling: Or, Strange and terrible News from Salisbury* (1653); *Strange & Terrible Newes From Cambridge* (1659). From murder pamphlets: *Newes out of Germanie* (1584); *Newes From Perin in Cornwall* (1618); *Sad Newes From Black-rvall* (1641); *Bloody Newes from Dover* (1647); *Strange News from the North* (1648). From monstrous birth pamphlets: *Strange Newes out of Kent* (1609); *Strange Newes of a prodigious Monster* (1613); *Strange Newes from Scotland* (1647). And from a robbery pamphlet, *Newes From The North* (1641); and a possession pamphlet, *Most Fearefull and strange Newes From the Bishoppricke of Dvrham* (1641).

It is clear that the forms of titles used by these occasional news pamphlets were not limited by subject matter. They utilise what Raymond has called ‘the lexicon of news’,¹⁸ and we must bear this in mind when considering how and where early modern readers encountered witchcraft pamphlets; they were not immediately marked out by distinctive titles. In fact it seems clear that there was a drive for familiarity in the choice of titles; despite claims for strangeness, readers needed to know what they were getting. As Lake has written, ‘There were clear audience expectations which such titles... were no doubt

¹⁵ Arber, III.501.

¹⁶ See J. Sievers, ‘Literatures of Wonder in Early Modern England and America’, *Literature Compass*, 4, 3 (2007), 767-73.

¹⁷ In borrowing the phrase for his *Strange Newes, Of the intercepting certaine Letters* (London: John Danter, 1592).

¹⁸ *Pamphlets*, 105.

intended to create and to which they were designed to pander.’¹⁹ Neither strangeness nor a stress on truthfulness were restricted to news of witchcraft.

Of the themes utilised in these titles, the stress on truthfulness was one of the most widely-used, and its origins go back to the beginnings of the news pamphlet trade.²⁰ As Daniel Woolf writes, ‘there remained throughout the period a deep distrust of news because it was both new and difficult to verify.’²¹ The stress on truth and novelty was present across the whole spectrum of news publishing. Lake calls the ‘claim to verisimilitude’ a ‘central legitimating strand in pamphlets’ self-presentation or pitch’;

It was because they were true, because they supposedly fixed the shifting matter of popular rumour, speculation, superstition and misreport within the authenticating framework of a formal printed narrative, that the pamphlets could claim a higher moral purpose than mere tittle-tattle and pandering to the curiosity and perversity of the populace.²²

Thus, David Cressy writes, ‘writers went to considerable trouble to establish the veracity of their reports.’²³ There was clear anxiety about both the inherent reliability of printed news and the threats to its authority, and authors went to some lengths to establish this reliability and authority.

A particular concern in reporting a recent event was with the truth of the printed account as opposed to the numerous false rumours invariably flying about (both orally and in print). Lake’s point on murder reports has application here:

the events that gave many of these pamphlets their subjects were also controversial, as often as not surrounded by a penumbra of wild talk, of rumour and counter-rumour. This was a situation that many of the pamphlets claimed to address and control by dispelling the clouds of popular error and superstition that hung around these cases through the publication of the unvarnished, albeit appropriately moralised, truth.²⁴

There are multiple examples of this in witchcraft pamphlets. The author of *Newes from Scotland* opens the account with remarks that ‘The manifolde vntruthes which is spread

¹⁹ *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 4. See also Clark, *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 90.

²⁰ See Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 105-6.

²¹ D. Woolf, ‘News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England’ in B. Dooley & S. A. Baron (eds), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 100.

²² *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 14.

²³ D. Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England – Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35; see also 46-50, and Walsham, *Providence*, 40.

²⁴ *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 12.

abroade, concerning the detestable actions and apprehension of those Witches wherof this Historye following truely entreateth, hath caused me to publish the same in print'.²⁵ Henry Goodcole claimed to have written *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Samyer a Witch, late of Edmonton* (1621) in order 'to defend the truth of the cause, which in some measure, hath received a wound already, by most base and false Ballets, which were sung at the time of our returning from the Witches execution' and which contained 'ridiculous fictions'²⁶ – a reminder that news pamphlets were only one vehicle of news reporting in a crowded and competitive field. Such claims were an attempt to establish news pamphlets as an authority, perhaps *the* authority, within that field. The claim could even be made against other, supposedly less scrupulous, news pamphlets. Richard Galis claimed his pamphlet to be the 'true edition' of events, as opposed to 'the freendly suruey of the late confession of *Elizabeth Stile alias Rockingam* [an earlier pamphlet on the same witches], comprehending not a handful of the number of their deuilish pageants played.'²⁷ In dedicating his *The Witches of Hvington* to the Huntingdon JPs, John Davenport wrote:

It hath beene a common fault of late, to commend things to the Presse taken up by hearesay and report, which frequently prove untrue. This common course makes many trueths doubted, specially in difficult discoveries. That this ensuing discourse is true, I need no other witnesses then your selves...²⁸

There is no doubt an element of convention in such claims; whether or not they were a response to genuine false claims or rumours, printed or otherwise, is not always clear. They are not, however, limited to reports of witchcraft.

One of the earliest murder pamphlets, Arthur Golding's *A briefe discourse of the late murder of master George Saunders* (1573), begins:

Forasmuche as the late murder of Master *Saunders*... ministreth great occasion of talk among al sorts of men... and the sequeles and accidents ensewing therevpon, breede much diuersitie of reports & opinions... It is thought conuenient (gentle reader) to give thee a

²⁵ *Newes from Scotland*, A3^r.

²⁶ *Wonderfull discoverie*, A3^v. See also D1^r.

²⁷ *A brief treatise*, A3^r. The earlier pamphlet is *A Rehearsall both straung and true* (London: John Kingston for Edward White, 1579).

²⁸ J. Davenport, *The Witches of Hvington* (London: William Wilson for Richard Clutterbuck, 1646), A2^r.

playne declaration of the whole matter... that thou mayst both knowe the truth to the satisfying of thy mind, & the auoyding of miscredite[.]²⁹

Gilbert Dugdale writes in *A True Discourse Of the practises of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall widdow, and George Fernely* (1604):

True it is that diuers reports passed vp and downe the streets of Loudon [*sic*] as touching this act of murder, but how scandelously, as fiue muredred, three muredred by the meanes of six persons, which your VVorships know is false, only three murdered one... Therefore being an eare-witnes to this false alarum, it made me more diligent in the setting foorth the truth... For as it was, it was, and no otherwise[.]³⁰

The author of *A Bloudy new-yeares gift* (1609) complains of the ‘infinite number of rumors’ he has heard.³¹ Thomas Cooper states in his murder pamphlet that it was published ‘to preuent such flying and suspitious pamphlets, wherewith the world in such cases, is too much abused’.³² These were partly methods of legitimising the very existence of the pamphlet; they were also methods of conferring authority on the printed report by contrasting it with unfettered rumour. Likewise William Prynne and Clement Walker, authors of *A True and Full Relation of The Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall, and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes* (1644), complain that Fiennes’ trial for treason ‘hath been over-long traduced, misreported, by the *licentious Pens*, the *slanderos Tongues* of *him* and *his*, which will not yet learn silence.’³³ An early possession pamphlet, *The Copy of a Letter Describing the wonderful woorke of God in deliuering a mayden within the City of Chester, from an horrible kinde of torment and sicknes* (1565) claims it was published ‘least the same should be misreported’.³⁴ The other side of the possession argument too could claim truth against rumour: the author of *The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession by the deuyl in two maydens within the Citie of London* (1574) writes, for instance:

²⁹ A. Golding, *A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Saunders* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1573), A2^{r-v}.

³⁰ G. Dugdale, *A True Discourse Of the practises of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall widdow, and George Fernely* (London: James Roberts for John Busby, 1604), A3^v.

³¹ *A Bloudy new-yeares gift* (London: Edward Allde for B. Sutton & W. Barrenger, 1609), A3^v.

³² *The Cry and Reuenge of Blood*, A3^r. Other examples include: *Two horrible and inhumane Murders* (London: Valentine Simmes for John Wright, 1607); *Three Bloodie Murders* (London: George Elde[?] for John Trundle, 1613); *Blood washed away by Tears of Repentence* (London: W. G. for Isaac Pridmore & Henry Marsh, 1657); *A Full and the Truest Narrative Of the most Horrid, Barbarous and Unparallel Murder* (London: T. Mabb for J. Saywell, 1657); *The Unhappy Marksman* (London: T. N. for R. Clavwell, 1659).

³³ W. Prynne & C. Walker, *A True and Full Relation of The Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall, and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes* (London: for Michael Sparke sr., 1644), A2^r.

³⁴ *The Copy of a Letter Describing the wonderful woorke of God in deliuering a mayden within the City of Chester, from an horrible kinde of torment and sicknes* (London: John Awdely, 1565), A2^{r-v}.

that the deuyl should so possesse actually men and women, in such maner as was advouched, and to make thereof a plaine matter, so constantly reported, and spread by their printed bookes, not publiquely licensed, is mere vanitie and falshood... This is therefore published to counteruaile the same in the hartes of Gods people[.]³⁵

As with witchcraft pamphlets, we should be wary of taking such claims at face value. Just like the stress on truth in titles, claims for reliability in opposition to rumour were a strategy designed to inspire trust in the reader and to confer authority on the author. They were also, perhaps, intended to stress the fact that the narrative in question was interesting, exciting and alive – worthy of being purchased and read. The claim was so common as to have been a cliché of news reporting, no matter what the subject.

More fundamental to the establishment of the reliability of a narrative was the inclusion of supposedly documentary evidence. That is, transcriptions of documents that played a central role in the narrative and which in reproduction replace the potentially unreliable authorial voice of the narrator with supposedly direct access to the truth of the matter. The reproduction of documents was not limited to news: it was an important strategy in supporting the veracity of many sorts of narrative – notable examples of use in history include Foxe and Holinshed.³⁶ Scot transcribed a letter as documentary proof in his *Discoverie*.³⁷ The use of documentary testimony in history was carried over to news reporting where it was a perfect fit. Gibson suggests that ‘witchcraft pamphlets are unique amongst popular crime literature in their use of documentary proof’, but this is not borne out by the evidence.³⁸ If there is a distinction it is one of degree, pamphlets on other crimes rarely being made up solely of documentary proofs, as witchcraft pamphlets sometimes were. Whether accompanied by a narrative or not, however, I argue that the strategies behind the publication of supposed documentary evidence were similar wherever the latter is found, and that it is significant that pamphlets on so many different subjects employ the same strategy.

The nature of documentary evidence could vary, but most often it consisted of transcripts or paraphrases of documents produced during the trial process; such as witness

³⁵ *The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession* (London: Richard Watkins, 1574), A2^{r-v}.

³⁶ E.g. J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1563), 103, 264, 392 and *passim*; R. Holinshed, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: for John Hunne, 1577), 1689, 1716, 1848-49 (2nd pagination).

³⁷ *Discoverie*, 467.

³⁸ *Reading Witchcraft*, 114. Gibson’s observation is based only on a reading of murder pamphlets, not ‘popular crime literature’ in general; see her Appendix 3, 194.

informations, suspect examinations, indictments or statements in court. Early examples are *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde*, which consists primarily, as the title implies, of examinations and confessions; and *A Rehearsall both straung and true* (1579), which also consists primarily of examination and confession transcripts. *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, after a brief narrative introduction, prints transcripts of examinations. Thomas Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie Of Witches In The Covntie Of Lancaster* is similarly made up of documentary transcripts, edited and re-arranged to present the case as effectively as possible.³⁹ The two lengthiest reports from the East Anglian trials both consisted of transcripts of witness informations, examinations and confessions.⁴⁰ Later examples include Mary Moore's *Wonderfull News from the North*, which prints transcripts of confessions, as well as the indictment and sentence of the accused; and *A Declaration In Answer to several lying Pamphlets concerning the Witch of Wapping* (1652), which prints a copy of a death certificate to prove that, in this case, witchcraft was not involved.⁴¹ The inclusion of such documents was a further attempt to confer authority on news reports. As well as offering ostensibly unmediated access to documents that played a role in events, they granted news reports the look and feel of legal documents. There was clearly the expectation on the part of their producers that such documents would be considered trustworthy by the pamphlets' readership.

They are regularly found in other news pamphlets. *A True report of the horrible Murther* (1607), for example, includes confession transcripts, printed in a different typeface to set them off from the main body of the account.⁴² *A True Relation Of The Grovnd, Occasion, and Circumstances, of that horrible Murther committed by Iohn Bartram* (1616) gives a special title-page to a transcript of Bartram's confession, with details of the date and the judges who oversaw it.⁴³ R. B. stresses in *A Mirrour Of Mercy and Iudgement* (1655) that the murderer's confession of which a transcript is printed was 'taken from his mouth'.⁴⁴ Goodcole (who as visitor to Ludgate and Newgate prisons had unprecedented access to the prisoners), printed the transcript of an interview with the accused in his witchcraft pamphlet, not strictly a

³⁹ See S. Pumfrey, 'Potts, plots and politics: James I's *Daemonologie* and *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*' and M. Gibson, 'Thomas Potts's 'dusty memory': reconstructing justice in *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*' in R. Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches – Histories and Stories* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).

⁴⁰ H. F., *A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the late Witches, arraigned and executed in the County of Essex* (London: Matthew Simmons[?]) for Henry Overton & Benjamin Allen, 1645); Davenport, *The Witches of Hvntingdon*.

⁴¹ *A Declaration In Answer to several lying Pamphlets concerning the Witch of Wapping* (London: [s. n.] 1652), 10-11.

⁴² *A True report of the horrible Murther* (London: Humphrey Lownes for Mathew Lownes, 1607), D3^v-D4^v & F1^{r-v}.

⁴³ N. J., *A True Relation Of The Grovnd, Occasion, and Circumstances, of that horrible Murther committed by Iohn Bartram* (London: John Beale, 1616), D1^r.

⁴⁴ R. B., *A Mirrour Of Mercy and Iudgement* (London: for Thomas Dring [sic], 1655), 14-15.

document but presumably intended to serve a similar purpose; he also printed confession transcripts in two of his other crime pamphlets, *The Adultrresses Funerall Day* (1635) and *Natures Cruell Step-Dames* (1637).⁴⁵ Goodcole was ‘the first English writer to establish a reputation as an authority about real crime’,⁴⁶ and he treated witchcraft in exactly the same way as he treated other notable crimes which came under his purview.

William Hart’s treason pamphlet, *The Examinations, Arraignment & Conuiction of George Sprot*, contains transcripts of witness depositions, as well as a transcript of the indictment;⁴⁷ *A True and Full Relation of The Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall, and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes* includes transcripts of documents such as letters and commissions, as well as a separate section with a large number of transcripts of witness testimonies and depositions.⁴⁸ The pamphlet report of the treason trial of the Earl of Essex in 1601 prints transcripts of examinations and confessions.⁴⁹ Even monstrous birth pamphlets could use this strategy: there was no trial to produce documents, but *A Declaration, Of a strange and Wonderfull Monster* prints a copy of a certificate of the truth of the birth, signed by the local minister as a witness.⁵⁰ Possession pamphlets too could utilise documentary evidence, both for and against the truth of the possession in question. Examples of the former are *A Breife Narration of the possession, dispossession, and, repossession of William Sommers* (1598), which prints transcripts of witness depositions and examinations;⁵¹ and *The Divell In Kent* (1647), which consists of two passages, the first an examination transcript with no commentary or narrative embellishments, just like what is found in several witchcraft pamphlets, and a second section consisting of a first-person account, possibly from an information or examination. On the other side of the possession debate, *The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession* prints transcripts of the examinations and confessions of the two ‘possessed’ girls;⁵² while *The Boy Of Bilson* (1622), an exposé of a group of Catholic exorcists, prints transcripts of the examinations and confessions of the supposedly possessed boy, and an

⁴⁵ H. Goodcole, *The Adultrresses Funerall Day* (London: Nicholas & John Okes, 1635), B2^r-B3^r, B4^v-C1^r; id., *Natures Cruell Step-Dames* (London: for Francis Coules, 1637), 16-17 & 19-20. Other examples include: *The Araignment & burning of Margaret Ferne-seede* (London: Edward Alde for Henry Gosson, 1608); *A Trve Relation Of The most Inhumane and bloody Murther* (London: for Richard Bunian & H. Walley, 1609); *A Briefe And Trve Relation Of The Myrther of Mr. Thomas Scott* (London: Miles Flesher for Nathaniel Butter, 1628).

⁴⁶ R. Martin, ‘Henry Goodcole, Visitor of Newgate: Crime, Conversion, and Patronage’, *Seventeenth Century*, 20 (2005), 153.

⁴⁷ W. Hart, *The Examinations, Arraignment & Conuiction of George Sprot* (London: Melch. Bradwoof for William Aspley, 1608), 40ff.

⁴⁸ Pryne & Walker, *A True and Full Relation*, B2^v-C1^v, Aa1^rff.

⁴⁹ *A Declaration of the Practises & Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex* (London: Robert Barker, 1601), K4^rff.

⁵⁰ *A Declaration, Of a strange and Wonderfull Monster* (London: Jane Coe, 1646), 8.

⁵¹ G. Co., *A Breife Narration of the possession, dispossession, and, repossession of William Sommers* (Amsterdam[?]: [s. n., 1599?]), C3^rff.

⁵² *The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession*, A7^v-B2^r.

examination of a recusant regarding the dissemination of the priests' account of the exorcism.⁵³ These were attempts to transcend partisan reportage and reach the supposedly objective truth of legal documentation.

Documentary evidence was clearly not unique to witchcraft pamphlets. Witchcraft pamphlets perhaps required a slightly higher degree of documentary evidence more often, given the controversy surrounding the subject; but even if murder by witchcraft was more likely to be controversial than murder by, say, stabbing, the strategies used in reports of witchcraft to overcome this controversy were not exclusive to witchcraft pamphlets. The presentation of this evidence in print cannot be fully understood without a realisation that it was a standard practice in crime and wonder pamphlets of many sorts, including those that were entirely non-supernatural. (Though to call any of these reports 'non-supernatural' is perhaps misleading, given the preponderance of divine providence and demonic suggestion in accounts of even the most sublunary crimes; see below.) Transcription of documents was a regular and hence, presumably, an expected formula in news reporting in general. This expectation was therefore in itself a reason why documents might be included in news pamphlets, and offers an insight into the reasoning behind these texts' construction. As well as being similar in content the typographical presentation of these documentary transcripts is also often strikingly similar across both witchcraft news and other types of news. This confirms the suggestion that they were attempting fulfil the same expectations.

A similar strategy in attempting to substantiate the truth of printed accounts was the inclusion of named witnesses supposedly willing to testify to the truth of the report. 'And that this thing is true', wrote the author of the account of a Continental trial *A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter, a most wicked Sorcerer* (1590), for example, 'Maister Tice Artine a Brewer dwelling at Puddle-wharfe, in London, beeing a man of that Country borne, and one of good reputation and account, is able to iustifie'. A further list of 'Witnesses that this is true' is printed at the end of the pamphlet.⁵⁴ The informations and examinations in *The Witches of Hvington* are all signed by the witnesses or the accused, and/or by the examiner or other official. *Wonderfull Neues From the North* prints lists of witnesses throughout its narrative account.⁵⁵ *A Lying VVonder Discovered* (1659) also

⁵³ R. Baddeley, *The Boy Of Bilson* (London: Felix Kingston for William Barret, 1622), K1^r, L1^r, L3^r. Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures* (London: James Roberts, 1603) also printed transcripts of examinations and confessions, for a similar purpose, 172ff.

⁵⁴ *A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter, a most wicked Sorcerer* (London: R. Ward for Edward Venge, 1590), 14, 19.

⁵⁵ M. Moore, *Wonderfull News from the North* (London: Thomas Harper[?] to be sold by Richard Harper, 1650), 2, 15, 17, 24, 25.

prints a list of names.⁵⁶ The transcript of the death certificate printed in *A Declaration In Answer to several lying Pamphlets concerning the Witch of Wapping* is signed by a list of ‘Phisitians’ and ‘Chirugians’; these are ‘*Besides the Apothecaries, and several other persons, who testified the same And are still ready to do the like.*’⁵⁷ Edmund Bower writes of the events in his *Doctor Lamb Revived* (1653) that ‘if any notwithstanding what hath been said doubt the truth of it, if it be any living in the Western Circuit, Master Clark of the Assises, or any of the Clarks or servants, can fully satisfy them the truth of it’.⁵⁸

This was common in murder pamphlets throughout the period. *The Manner Of The Cruell Ovtragious Myrther of William Storre* (1603) followed a brief narrative account with a long list of witnesses ready to attest to the murderer’s guilt.⁵⁹ The author of *The Bloudy Mother* (1610) calls his pamphlet ‘a true relation of that that many tongues can witness’, and accordingly prints ‘*The names of the witnesses*’ at the end of the report.⁶⁰ *An Exact Relation Of The Bloody and Barbarous Murder* (1646) prints a list of witnesses on its title-page and again at the end of the account.⁶¹ The monstrous birth pamphlet *Strange Newes out of Kent* prints a list of witnesses along with their addresses.⁶² Similarly, the title-page of *Strange Newes of a prodigious Monster* states that the truth of it is testified by a local preacher, giving his name and parish.⁶³ One of the earliest examples of this practice is the possession pamphlet *The Copy of a Letter Describing the wonderful woorke of God*; the account stresses that there were witnesses, naming some in the narrative then listing several more at the end of the pamphlet.⁶⁴ The second edition of Edward Nyndge’s account of the possession of his brother advertises on its title-page that witnesses’ names are included.⁶⁵ The exorcist John Darrel presents witnesses names in an original way in his *A Brief Apologie Proving The Possession Of William Sommers* (1599); the various depositions are summarised into separate points, each point having a list of witnesses to it printed alongside.⁶⁶

⁵⁶ *A Lying Wonder Discovered* (London: for Thomas Simmons, 1659), 8.

⁵⁷ *A Declaration In Answer*, 11.

⁵⁸ E. Bower, *Doctor Lamb Revived* (London: Thomas Wilson[?] for Richard Best & John Place, 1653), 43-44.

⁵⁹ *The Manner Of The Cruell Ovtragious Myrther of William Storre* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1603), A4^v-B2^r.

⁶⁰ T. B., *The Bloudy Mother* (London: John Busby to be sold by Arthur Johnson, 1610), A2^r, C2^r.

⁶¹ *An Exact Relation Of The Bloody and Barbarous Murder* (London: for J. C., 1646), title-page, 6. Other examples include: *A Briefe And True Relation Of The Myrther of Mr. Thomas Scott*; Goodcole, *The Adultresses Funerall Day*, C2^r; *An exact and true Relation of A most cruell and horrid Murther* (London: for E. Husbands & I. Franck, 1642).

⁶² *Strange Nerves out of Kent* (London: Thomas Creed for William Barley, 1609), A4^r.

⁶³ *Strange Newes of a prodigious Monster* (London: I. Pindley for Samuel Man, 1613), title-page; see also B1^v. Other examples include: *A Declaration, Of a strange and Wonderfull Monster*; *The Ranters Monster* (London: for George Horton, 1652).

⁶⁴ *The Copy of a Letter Describing the wonderful woorke of God*, A8^v, B1^v.

⁶⁵ E. Nyndge, *A True And Fearefull Vexation Of One Alexander Nyndge* (2nd ed.; London: W. B. to be sold by Edward Wright, 1616).

⁶⁶ J. Darrel, *A Brief Apologie Proving The Possession Of William Sommers* (Middleburg: R. Schilders, 1599), 35-40. Other examples include: *A true and most Dreadfull discourse of a woman possessed with the Deuill* (London: John

So common was the practice of listing witnesses, in fact, that it was material for satire: Shakespeare mocked the practice in *The Winter's Tale*, in which Autolycus the balladmonger, advertising his wares, praises lists of witnesses as selling points: 'Here's the midwife's name to't, one Mistress Tail-Porter, and five or six honest wives' that were present... Five justices' hands at it, and witnesses more than my pack will hold.'⁶⁷ We know in at least one case that witness lists could be entirely fictional.⁶⁸ But this was not the point; they were a marketing ploy, and presumably an effective one, given their continued use throughout the period. The regular advertisement of such lists on title-pages indicates that printers and publishers considered them strong selling-points. There was also the legal authority they conferred, just as with the transcriptions of documents, and perhaps even a religious dimension, given that rituals such as baptisms also required witnesses – if this was the case then it was surely for the further authority these connotations lent.

Lists of witnesses, documentary evidence, attacks on unverified rumour; they were all literary devices used in the construction of a narrative as true, as 'news' and not a work of fiction. The protestation of truthfulness was a protestation that the pamphlets were more than mere examples of a narrative genre – but they were themselves a generic element of the form. They all worked to construct the authority of news reports. It was not just supernatural and contested phenomena, like witchcraft, which required such support. News reporting itself was considered untrustworthy, and it needed to counteract this view in order to have worth as a literary commodity. This was partly because pamphlet news was just one type of reportage in a field that also included manuscript newsletters, drama, ballads, and, in the latter part of the period, newsbooks and corantos, not to mention the swirls of rumour and gossip that made up orally-transmitted news. The genre itself lacked distinct authority, and in their attempts to establish authority witchcraft pamphlets were thoroughly typical of the wider market.

News pamphlets also shared ideological strategies; not a common ideological programme as in polemical treatises, but a series of literary tropes which were typical of the genre. Foremost among these was a moral gloss with varying degrees of relevance to the events being reported; as Walsham puts it, 'the curious blend of luridly realistic reportage with

Kingston for Thomas Nelson, 1584); *A Relation Of The Devill Balams Departure Out Of The Body Of The Mother-Prioress of the Vrsuline Nuns of Loudun* (London: R. Badger, 1636); *Most Fearefull and strange Nevves From the Bishoppricke of Dvrham* (London: for John Thomas, 1641).

⁶⁷ W. Shakespeare, 'The Winter's Tale' in id., *The Complete Works* (2nd ed.), ed. Stanley Wells & Gary Taylor (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 2005), 4.4.267-69 & 281-82.

⁶⁸ In *True and Wonderfull. A Discourse relating to a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered* (London: John Trundle, 1614), as pointed out by Walsham, *Providence*, 45-46.

platitudinous, sermonizing editorial which is such a salient feature of the genre.’⁶⁹ Cressy’s point with regard to monstrous births is relevant for the other topics considered here too:

Contemporaries expected to find moral, religious, or political meaning in aberrations of nature, and would have been disappointed by accounts that failed to draw lessons... Comments on the message and elucidations of its lessons were important parts of this reporting.⁷⁰

One of the most common forms of moral comment was the general lament for the sinfulness of the age. The crime or wonder being reported was then figured as divine punishment for these general sins, or as a warning of worse punishment to come.⁷¹ Often the specific wonder being reported was explicitly conceptualised as just one of many phenomena resulting from this general sinfulness, a running-together of different topics which further confirms the suggestion that we are not dealing with separate genres of writing.

Such ‘is the deafnesse of our eares,’ thundered *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed*, for example,

that though heauen it selfe speak in thunder to remember vs a day shall come when we must giue account for our wilfull transgressions, wee not regard it, and such the hardnesse of our hearts, that neither treasons, murthers, witchcrafts, fires, flouds, all of which the impetuous course hath beene such in this age, that we haue cause to looke our day of summons is to morrow, if not this houre, yet we are unprepared of our account, and as if it were lawfull that euils should grow, many from one, and one from another, are as corne is fruitfull from one seede to seuerall eares. So from one sinne we multiply to diuers, not dreading vengeance till our iniquities be numberlesse. As shall appeare by this following discourse...⁷²

Crimes, wonders and natural disasters were listed together as symptoms of the same process. A classic example of this is found in *Signes and wonders from Heaven* (1645), a combined account of two monstrous births with a report of the Suffolk executions of the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 39.

⁷⁰ *Travesties*, 35.

⁷¹ See J. Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution – The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford’s Flies* (London: UCL Press, 1993), chapter 3.

⁷² *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed* (London: William Stansby[?] for Edward Marchant, 1613), A3^v-A4^r.

East Anglian witch-hunt: 'Have there not beene strange Comets seen in the ayre, prodigies, sights on the seas, marvellous tempests and stormes on the land', the author asked; 'all these are eminent tokens of Gods anger to Sinners.'⁷³ *A Most certaine report of a monster borne at Oteringham* (1595) leaves no room for doubt as to the cause of the proliferation of wonders:

The Ayer hath beene corrupted because of sin, the Skie hath shotte foorth fiery thunderboltes and lightnings because of sin, straunge comets hath threatned destruction for our sinne, the earth hath quaked because of the wrath of God for sinne, and mountaines haue remoued out of their places to giue us warning to remoue from our sinne.

The Lord hath sent vs straunge and monstereous birthes, because of our monstereous sinne. The ennemie hath threatned warre against vs, the plague of pestilence hath afflicted and consumed vs, dearth and famine hath assailed vs, and all to driue vs from our sins...⁷⁴

Monstrous birth pamphlets laid particular stress on divine punishment and warning;⁷⁵ but as we can see from this example, monstrous births were conceptualised as just one punishment among many. The possession pamphlet *A true and most Dreadfull discourse of a woman possessed with the Denill* was prefaced with the following remarks, which afford another example of this trope:

*Great are the examples, both of God's mercy and might, to put vs in remembrance of our sinnes which are infinite and lothsome... Many are the woonders which hath lately happened, as of suddaine and straunge death upon periured persons, straunge sights in the Aier, straunge birthes on the Earth: Earth quakes, commetts and fiery Impressions... These and suche like examples (good Reader) warneth vs to be watchfull for the day of the Lorde which is at hand, least sodainly his wrath be kindled against vs.*⁷⁶

Here we see how such laments could be couched in millenarian terms – this too was typical. The sins of the present age are always the worst of any age, usually indicating the impending apocalypse.⁷⁷ The manifold sins everywhere abounding are eloquently described by I. T. in *A Horrible Creuel and bloody Murther* (1614):

⁷³ *Signes and wonders from Heaven* (London: I[ohn] H[ammond], 1645), 1-2.

⁷⁴ *A Most certain report of a monster borne at Oteringham* (London: P. S. to be sold by T. Millington, 1595), B1r.

⁷⁵ See Cressy, *Travesties*, 41-44.

⁷⁶ *A true and most Dreadfull discourse*, sigs A3r-v.

⁷⁷ 'Neuer was the world so wicked as it is now' complained *Strange Newes of a prodigious Monster*, A3r. The complaint was typical.

This old impotent decrepit age wherein wee liue, the doating World limping on hir last legges, whereas impieties, blasphemies, iniquities, villanies, and thousands more of hell-hatched enormities haue gotten the vpper hand, where the sweet seeming baytes of Sathan leades men (like beares by the noses) to commit all horrid and damnable trespasses and transgressions against the Deuine maiestie of the omnipotent and eternall God.⁷⁸

All these examples stress not only the number and the enormity but the variety of sins and accompanying providential punishments. The particular sin in question is seen as just one of many, an example on the conceptual level of the material argument being advanced here: that news pamphlets reporting cases of witchcraft were submerged within a wider genre of news publishing.

This lament for the proliferation of sins was so common as to be another cliché of ‘strange news’ reporting. These passages read very much like sermons, in fact, a popular literary genre in their own right, in itself indicative of how news reporting drew on its wider literary context; there was crossover between the two forms.⁷⁹ Hybrid works like Roberts’ *Treatise of Witchcraft* and Cooper’s *The Cry and Reuenge of Blood* are only some of the most obvious examples of widespread cross-pollination between the genres of sensational reportage and theological exposition. In the majority of cases, however, these micro-sermons are marked by a distinct lack of specificity, supporting the sense that they were an expectation, a standard formula for occasional news pamphlets; though this does not necessarily mean they were not sincere, as Lake and Walsham have demonstrated.⁸⁰ In fact their sincerity could differ greatly, as Lake explains; ‘while all the pamphlets contained both the titillating and edifying, the balance struck between the two elements could vary sharply.’⁸¹ It is difficult to determine, as Walsham writes,

whether such texts are titillation under the pretence of religious admonition or homilies camouflaged as marvellous tales; whether they are auxiliaries or sacrilegious rivals of the clerical hierarchy. Sanctimonious, smug, or sincere; tongue-in-cheek or matter-of-fact; providential news invariably sold exceedingly well.⁸²

⁷⁸ I. T., *A Horrible Creuel and bloudy Murther* (London: George Elde for John Wright, 1614), A4^{r-v}.

⁷⁹ See Walsham, *Providence*, 60-61, 63-64; I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 194.

⁸⁰ See Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, chapters 4 & 5; Walsham, *Providence*, chapter 1.

⁸¹ *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 175.

⁸² *Providence*, 50.

The producers of these works would have wanted to tap into as many markets as they could. The important point is that the forms and language in which these ideas were expressed were so often the same right across the occasional news pamphlet genre.

Generalised laments for sin are often coupled with a claim that, however many and various might be the sins of the age, the particular sin being described in the pamphlet was the worst of all. Thus, ‘Among the punishementes whiche the Lorde GOD hath laied vppon vs, for the manifest impietie and carelesse contempt of his woorde, aboundying in these our desperate daies, the swarmes of Witches, and Inchaunters are not the laste nor the leaste’ wrote the author of *A Rebeersall both straung and true*.⁸³ *The Witches Of Northamptonshire* (1612) opens: ‘Amongst the rest of sinnes where-with the perfection of God is most of all displeased in the corruption of man, There is none (I suppose) more distastfull or detestable to his Purity, then this damnable and Deuillish sinne of Witchcraft’.⁸⁴ The same was said of other criminal acts. *A True report of the horrible Murther* opens its account with a discussion of ‘the impietie, and the iniquitie, which now adayes are growen so ranke and ripe’ in this ‘the declining age of the worlde’; adding, ‘there is one, to wit, the sinne of murther, that ouertops all the rest’.⁸⁵ *Two horrible and inhumane Murders* states: ‘Of all the sinnes which mankinde is subiect to... there is none that is more hatefull to our Maker, than murther is.’⁸⁶ We should not read too much into such claims. They constituted another generic trope, and do not tell us anything specific about contemporary views of the crime in question. They were no doubt partly a marketing ploy, a method of exaggerating the importance of the account. They offer a further example of how strategies used by witchcraft pamphlet authors were not unique to witchcraft pamphlets.

A similar device which often framed these accounts was an introduction to the subject in general. While in content specific to the text in question, in fact this was a device common to pamphlets on different subjects. *The Witches Of Northamptonshire*, for example, is prefaced by two separate sections, the first on the existence of witches and witchcraft, and the second on ‘What a Witch is, and the Antiquity of Witchcraft’.⁸⁷ Despite opening with the disclaimer that ‘My meaning is not to make any contentious Arguments about the discourses, distinction or definition of Witchcraft’, the author of *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* goes on to provide a relatively lengthy

⁸³ *A Rebeersall both straung and true*, A2^r.

⁸⁴ *The Witches Of Northamptonshire* (London: Thomas Purfoot for Arthur Johnson, 1612), A3^r.

⁸⁵ *A True report of the horrible Murther*, A3^r, A3^v.

⁸⁶ *Two horrible and inhumane Murders*, A2^r.

⁸⁷ *The Witches Of Northamptonshire*, A3^r-B1^v, quotation at A4^v.

introduction to the subject.⁸⁸ H. F. prefaces *A true and exact Relation* with a brief demonological discussion.⁸⁹ *The Witch Of Wapping* (1652) opens with some brief introductory comments on the Scriptural support for the existence of witchcraft, apparently blithely unaware of the variety of interpretations these passages had been subject to in the preceding seventy years.⁹⁰ *The most true and wonderfull Narration Of two women bewitched in Yorkshire* (1658) begins in a similar fashion. Do such introductions suggest that authors did not expect their readers to be familiar with these topics? Perhaps; though it seems most likely that they were a further strategy employed to ground the authority of the reports in tradition and history; another method of combating the perceived untrustworthiness of news.

Whatever the reasons behind them, such introductions were not limited to reports of witchcraft. Edward Nyndge's account of his brother's possession begins with a discussion on the history, nature and power of the Devil, 'being the principall agent and chiefe practiser in all wickednes.'⁹¹ *A true and strange Relation Of A Boy, Who was entertained by the Devill* likewise begins with some general remarks on Satan.⁹² Once again, however, it is not just a contested subject like witchcraft or demonic possession which warrants a special introduction; such introductions were also found accompanying more worldly crimes. Here too the authors could draw on theological speculation in the manner of sermons. One might have thought that it was a rather unnecessary injunction 'to haue a special care what actions wee commit, not seeking to murder those that haue in some sorte offended vs'; nevertheless the author of *Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers* uses it as a starting point for a brief meditation on the topic of murder, utilising Scriptural examples.⁹³ *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen* (1592) opens with a discussion on the heinousness of murder as exemplified in Cain and Abel.⁹⁴ Goodcole prefaces *The Adulteresses Funeral Day* with an introduction to murder that cites Scripture, history and classical poetry, as well as recent cases.⁹⁵ *The Unnatural Grand Mother* (1659) stresses the uniqueness of its account, despite the antiquity of murder: 'Of all Examples weighing the curcumstances of this, none more horrid and cruell, as ever I heard or read of. But I must needs confess that

⁸⁸ *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, B1^r, B2^{r-v}.

⁸⁹ *A true and exact Relation*,)(2^r)-(4^r.

⁹⁰ *The Witch Of Wapping* (London: for Thomas Spring, 1652), ¶2^r.

⁹¹ *A True And Fearefull Vexation Of One Alexander Nyndge*, A2^r.

⁹² *A true and strange Relation Of A Boy, Who was entertained by the Devill* (London: J. H., 1645), 1.

⁹³ *Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1591), A2^r-A3^r, quotation at A2^r.

⁹⁴ *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen* (London: Thomas Orwin[?] for John Kid, to be sold by Edward White, 1592), A2^r.

⁹⁵ *The Adulteresses Funeral Day*, A3^v-B2^r.

every Age hath produced examples of most horrid Murthers committed...'⁹⁶ Sometimes seen as evidence for a self-conscious awareness of operating within a specific genre, in fact this device was a much wider one; if it was a generic device it was not limited by subject matter. Once again the authors of news pamphlets are found thinking in the same ways.

Another example of this is that, as will have become clear from many of the passages quoted in this chapter, demonological speculation was not limited to reports of witchcraft. The Devil was everywhere. *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen* makes Satan's role clear:

yet doth the Diuell so worke in the hearts of a number, that without respect either of the feare of God, or extreame punishment in this world they doe notwithstanding committe most haynous and grieuous offences to the great hazard of their soules, and the destructions of their bodies on earth, onely through Sathans suggestions[.]⁹⁷

The clue is in the title for the murder pamphlet *The Devils Reign upon Earth* (1655), which offers an example from the end of the period:

The mind of man... is very apt and prone to be deluded by Satan, as wofull experience in all ages hath sufficiently testified; but more especially in this last and worst age of the world, the Devil hath ever been a busie-body... no sooner had God created man and woman, but the Devil tempts them to disobey the commands of God, and prevails... This he doth when he instigates men on to destroy themselves by murthering others, wherein no age can compare with this for sad examples.⁹⁸

Peter Lake and Nathan Johnstone have provided the best analyses of this phenomenon: although, as they both make clear, the Devil's role in murder pamphlets is almost always via suggestion, unlike the direct role he plays in witchcraft and possession pamphlets, the overwhelming presence of the Devil in crime narratives served to normalise the presence

⁹⁶ *The Unnatural Grand Mother* (London: for Thomas Higgins, 1659), 3. Other examples include: *Two notorious Murders* (London: for William Blackwall & George Shaw, 1595); R. More, *A true Relation of a barbarous and most cruell Murther* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1633); *A true Relation Of the most Horrid and Barbarous murders* (London: for F. Coles, 1658).

⁹⁷ *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen*, A2^r.

⁹⁸ *The Devils Reign upon Earth* (London: for John Andrews, 1655), A2^r. Other examples include: T. B., *The Bloudy Mother; The Bloody downfall of Adultery* (London: George Elde for R. Higgenbotham, 1615); Cooper, *The Cry and Renenge of Blood*; J. Taylor, *The Vnnaturall Father* (London: for I. T. & H. G., 1621); C. W., *The crying Murther* (London: Edward Allde for Nathaniel Butter, 1624).

of demonic agency, not just in the case of exceptional crimes but in everyday life.⁹⁹ It adds a touch of the supernatural to even the most worldly crimes, and by the same token makes the demonism of the witchcraft pamphlets all the less striking and less isolated. Ultimately it was so common in sensational news reporting that it may have become next to meaningless for contemporary readers.

One further piece of evidence to consider is accounts of witchcraft associated with accounts of other current events in the most literal sense; that is, where individual works covered multiple topics. *The Most Cruell And Bloody Murther committed by an Inkeepers wife, called Annis Dell... With the seuerall VVitch-crafts, and most damnable practises of one Iohane Harrison and her Daughter* (1606), for example, contains two accounts, of the trial of two murderers and the trial of two witches. The cases were both tried at the same assizes – they were the only two ‘found worthy to haue deserued death’ and hence, presumably, to have been interesting enough for publication.¹⁰⁰ What links their publication is their worth as news. Likewise *Signes and wonders from Heaven* offers accounts of two monstrous births, some brief witchcraft narratives and notice of the numbers of witches tried in East Anglia. Here too their newsworthiness is clearly a factor in the connection of the episodes, but they are also connected by their figuration as ‘wonders’, which God ‘daily’ sends into the world, ‘thereby to put us in minde of our sinnes, and move us to repentance.’¹⁰¹

A more extensive collection is T. I.’s *A VVorld of vvonders. A Masse of Murthers. A Conie of Cosonages* (1595), a compilation of previously published works with varying degrees of editing. As the title suggests, it consists of a variety of accounts, including a large number of robberies and con tricks; a list of ‘wonders’ both historical and contemporary, including monstrous births; ‘A memoriall of certaine most notorious witches, and of their dealings’;¹⁰² and a collection of murder narratives. The ostensible rationale behind the collection is predictable: they are ‘collected together in a redines as a pretious glasse to see the frailitie of man, to veiu the wickednesse of this world, the end of mischeifs, the punishment of such greeuous enormities & such like that therby, others seing the same

⁹⁹ N. Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter 5; Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Levd Hat*, 40.

¹⁰⁰ *The Most Cruell And Bloody Murther committed by an Inkeepers wife, called Annis Dell... With the seuerall VVitch-crafts, and most damnable practises of one Iohane Harrison and her Daughter* (London: Thomas Purfoot for William Firebrand & John Wright, 1606), C2^v.

¹⁰¹ *Signes and wonders from Heaven*, 5.

¹⁰² T. I., *A VVorld of vvonders. A Masse of Murthers. A Conie of Cosonages* (London: Abel Jeffes for William Barley, 1595), E2^v.

may refrain the like, and seeke to shunne such paths as lead to distruction'.¹⁰³ These anthologies are the most literal examples of the point being made here, that witchcraft pamphlets were presented and conceptualised as just one type of news in a wider genre of occasional news publishing.

Reports of 'treasons, murders, witchcrafts, fires, flouds'¹⁰⁴ were conceptualised and reported in the same sorts of ways. The presentation strategies found in witchcraft pamphlets are found time and again in other occasional news pamphlets. Their stress on truth and strangeness; their presentation of documentary evidence and named witnesses in support of their claims for truth; their moralising prefaces and commentary; and their use of generalised introductions to set the scene for their accounts. As Julie Sievers writes, 'while wonder tales were by definition unconventional, when printed they were marshalled into a highly structured, regulated corpus.'¹⁰⁵ They cannot be divided into distinct genres on the basis of their subject matter alone. As Sandra Clark suggests,

What seems of importance here is to recognize tone, topics, and ideas as conventional; if we know that a certain subject appears traditionally in a certain sort of writing, and that it is invariably presented in a particular way, we may be spared from making wrong assumptions on the basis of its appearance in the work of an individual author.¹⁰⁶

We should not use claims for truthfulness in witchcraft pamphlets, for example, as evidence of a special uncertainty exclusive to witchcraft. I argue that these occasional news pamphlets constituted a wider genre, with common forms and devices, based on and inspiring common reader expectations. This is not to suggest that early modern readers could not tell the difference between topics, but that they brought the same expectations with them – or at least the producers of the texts catered to the same expectations – across a variety of topics. And reader expectations, both in actuality and in the predictions of writers, printers and publishers, were of fundamental importance in the shaping of these works and thus the knowledge of current affairs disseminated to the reading public.

¹⁰³ Ibid., A2v. A similar example not including witchcraft is Anthony Munday's *A View of sundry Examples* (London: John Charlewood for William Wright to be sold by John Allde, 1580). For the Continental context see A. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 149-50.

¹⁰⁴ *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed*, A3v.

¹⁰⁵ 'Literature of Wonder', 772. Sievers' research supports my own: 'though present-day scholars have tended to treat witchcraft as a phenomenon separate from providentialism and marvels, in the period's print culture, the topics often rubbed shoulders; early modern readers would have encountered stories of witches, apparitions, or devils alongside tales of other wonders', *ibid.*, 771. See also Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press*, 260.

¹⁰⁶ *Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 37-38.

This analysis has been necessarily reductive: these comparisons are neither an attempt to smooth over differences, nor to suggest that all these works were exactly the same. There was variation in construction, tone, ideology and methodology among witchcraft pamphlets, and this was equally the case with murder pamphlets, monstrous birth pamphlets, etc. There were many individual variations and complexities of origin; I argue that these complexities can only be assimilated, however, not within a distinct genre of witchcraft pamphlets, but a much wider genre of non-political news publication in general. It was this wider genre that writers, editors, printers and publishers were engaging with. There were differences between witchcraft pamphlets just as there were differences between murder pamphlets, and isolating them by subject matter obscures both these differences and their similarities to pamphlets on other subjects. The subtle differences that modern scholars have highlighted were less important than these wider patterns, within which individual works were purchased and read. An analogy might be with the modern newspaper, where the genre consists of the form and the expectations it evokes, not the subject matter therein; the medium is the message, as it were. The possible effect that this had on reception is too fundamental to ignore.

One implication of this is that the growth in the number of narrative accounts in witchcraft pamphlets over time could be the result of influence from other crime pamphlets. That is, Gibson's claim that witchcraft pamphlets are unlike murder pamphlets because of the lack of documentary evidence in the latter is contradicted by her own theory that witchcraft pamphlets underwent a supposedly generic shift away from documentary evidence towards narrative accounts. (Notwithstanding that it is already undermined by the amount of documentary evidence I have found presented in other news pamphlets.) This very argument suggests that in fact witchcraft pamphlets were much closer to other pamphlets than Gibson maintains. If one is to examine such theories one cannot avoid taking the possible implications of wider influence from the book trade into account.

This research also questions the oft-claimed sensationalism of witchcraft accounts. It is clear from even this brief study that the aspects of these texts from which sensationalism is deduced – their titles, their need to claim truthfulness, etc. – are not unique to witchcraft pamphlets. This does not necessarily mean that they were not sensational, but it perhaps means that they were not sensational for the reasons often assumed; i.e. perhaps for the criminality and/or the deaths involved, rather than witchcraft per se. I suggest that if witchcraft was conceptualised as just one type of news among many others then

individually it must have made less impact. There were no strategies utilised by the producers of books to give reports of witchcraft any special prominence or note.

This finding may add to our understanding not only of trends in form, but of quantitative trends as well (bearing in mind the limitations of quantitative analysis discussed above). Another problem noted by Gibson is the lack of any new witchcraft pamphlets between 1621 and the 1640s.¹⁰⁷ There are of course many contextual issues to consider on this point, not least the status of the demonological debate, especially as enacted in the courts – fluctuations in pamphlet numbers are in fact used, by Gibson and others, as evidence for changing intensity of witchcraft belief.¹⁰⁸ Could one factor, however, have been developments in news publishing more generally? The rise of corantos in the 1620s fundamentally changed the business of news,¹⁰⁹ and this was followed by an official clampdown on print news in the 1630s – although the statute was against foreign news, it also had an effect on domestic news.¹¹⁰ When the restrictions were relaxed in the early 1640s there was a huge rise in news publishing of all kinds. It would be foolish to ignore the influence of these events on the production of witchcraft pamphlets.

There was, in fact, a similar drop in the number of other wonder pamphlets at this time, and a similar return in the 1640s, as demonstrated in figure 1. The graph shows numbers of the various different types of pamphlets considered in this chapter per year for the period; beginning with sparse numbers in the opening decades of the period (when the genre was in its infancy in England and the rate of loss at its highest), then tracing a steady rise in numbers in the final decades of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth. Then around 1620 there is a significant drop; wonder pamphlets do not cease completely, but the numbers are far lower than in the previous decades¹¹¹ – and insignificant in comparison to the huge spike in numbers that comes around 1640. If all wonder pamphlets – if all occasional news pamphlets – went into decline in the years leading up to 1640, then we are dealing with questions beyond the witchcraft debate – but which may have fundamentally affected it.

I argue, therefore, that witchcraft pamphlets were published and bought as news pamphlets, rather than as witchcraft pamphlets; and that this has fundamental importance

¹⁰⁷ *Reading Witchcraft*, 186. Like Gibson I do not consider *A Briefe Description Of The Notorious Life Of Iohn Lambe, otherwise called Doctor Lambe* (1628) a witchcraft pamphlet, as it was not advertised as such and contains little discussion of witchcraft.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. C. Suhr, 'Portrayal of Attitude in Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets', *Studia Neophilologica*, 84, supplement 1 (2012), 131-32.

¹⁰⁹ See Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 132-38; C. J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England – Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 22-33.

¹¹⁰ See Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 138, 148.

¹¹¹ See *ibid.*, 117.

for our understanding of them and hence of the development of witchcraft belief. I strongly question, for example, Gibson's conception that Goodcole was 'hiding witchcraft among other crimes and other debates.'¹¹² Its representation was inextricably connected with them.

¹¹² *Reading Witchcraft*, 189.

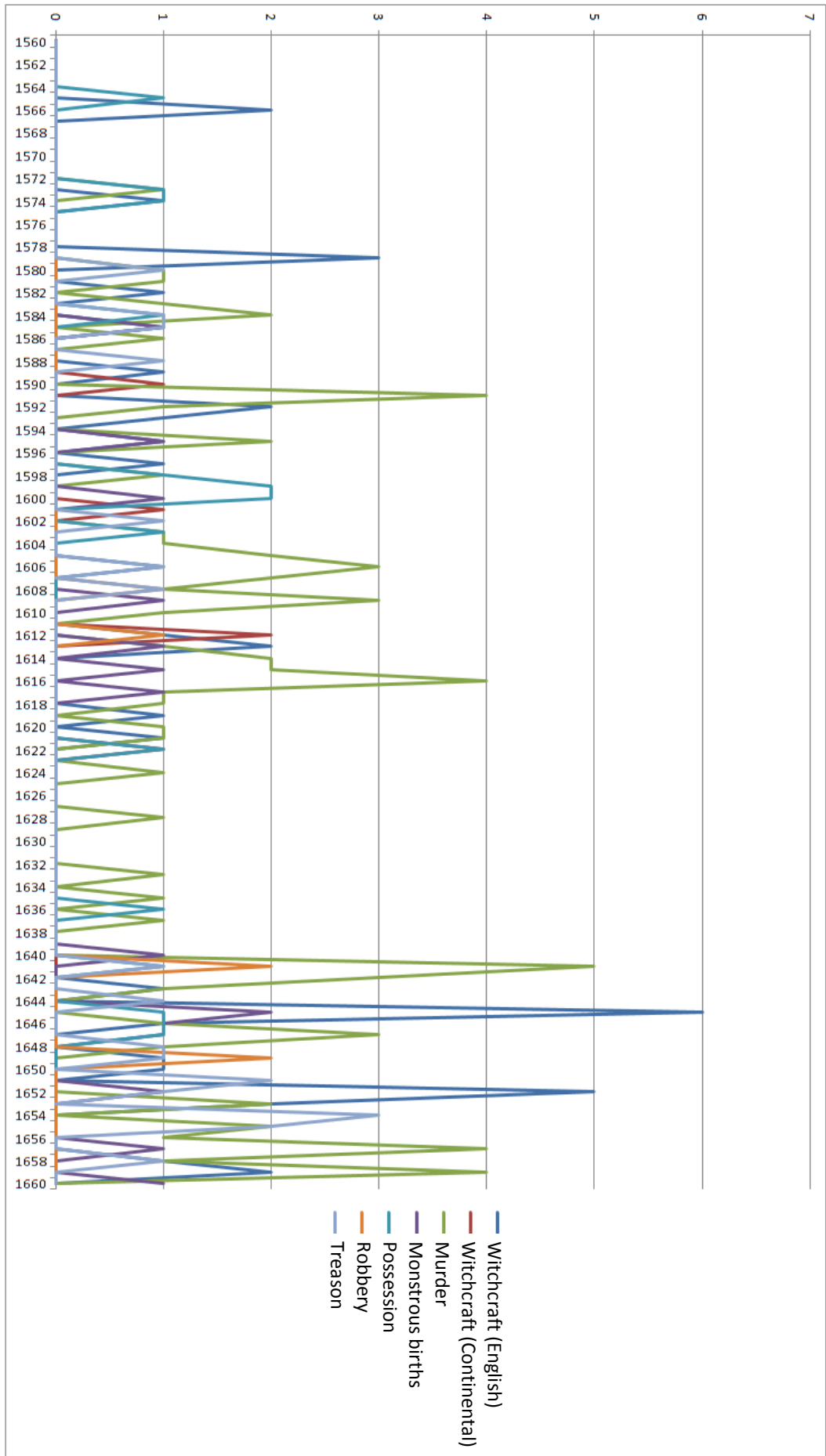


Figure 1: production of sensational news pamphlets by year, 1560-1660.

1.3 Drama

A further type of engagement with witchcraft in print was in the dramatic works which made their way from stage to printing-house during the period. Many claims have been made for the prevalence of portrayals of witchcraft in early modern drama. The stage has been said to have been ‘preoccupied’ with witchcraft by Diane Purkiss, who suggests there was a ‘vogue’ for portraying the subject in the theatre.¹ Lawrence Normand writes of ‘the fashion for witchcraft plays’.² Witchcraft ‘fascinated Renaissance audiences’, writes Garry Wills.³ The historical significance of this ‘vogue’ is also often stressed. Frances Dolan argues that drama ‘influenced and reflected the widespread interest in witchcraft’.⁴ Molly Hand talks of the ‘proliferation of Jacobean witch plays... the “witch vogue” that helped define the cultural moment of the early seventeenth century.’⁵ If witchcraft held such power over the early modern imagination as these authors suggest, we would indeed expect this to be made manifest in the drama of the period. It would mean a substantial number of works in which witchcraft is a central feature, and perhaps that engage with witchcraft theory. Most importantly, such claims need to be examined not only quantitatively but qualitatively. Were all dramatic portrayals of witchcraft the same, and from what roots did they spring? As with other writing on witchcraft, I argue, dramatic portrayals can only be fully understood when firmly situated in their literary context.

Many of the witches that appeared on the stage during the period were imitations of characters from the literature of classical antiquity. Early modern drama was of course full of the influence of classical literature: new editions and translations of classical plays; new interpretations of classical stories; and new plays based on classical sources. Sorceresses were just one among many classical characters to feature in plays from the period. They could be direct imitations, such as the Dipsas in Lyly’s *Endimion* (1591), the Medea in Greene’s *Alphonsus* (1599) or the Erictho in Marston’s *Sophonisba* (1606). Or they appeared as new creations following the classical mould: the witch in the anonymous *The Valiant Welshman* (1615; attributed to Robert Armin⁶), the ‘hagges’ in Thomas May’s *Antigone*

¹ D. Purkiss, *The Witch in History – Early Modern and Twentieth-century Representations* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), 185, 199.

² L. Normand, ‘Renaissance Drama, England’ in R. M. Golden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft – The Western Tradition*, 4 vols (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 957.

³ G. Wills, *Witches and Jesuits – Shakespeare’s Macbeth* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 35.

⁴ F. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars – Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 210.

⁵ M. Hand, “Now is hell landed here upon the earth”: Renaissance Poverty and Witchcraft in Thomas Middleton’s *The Black Book*, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31, 1 (2008), 74.

⁶ M. Butler, ‘Armin, Robert (1563–1615)’ in *DNB*.

(1631),⁷ or Canidia and her witches in Thomas Goffe's *Orestes* (first printed 1633). The witchcraft scenes in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* (1590-91 and 1592) also seem to fit this category, although both are so brief that it is difficult to determine.⁸ These 'witches' are found in classical settings and with powers unrestrained by the limits of Christian demonology. May's hags, for example, do not invoke the Devil or any Christian demons, but rather Chaos, gorgons, Cerberus, Charon.⁹ They are rarely explicitly acknowledged as Satanic, and the theological implications of their power and evil are left unexplored. Their magic is predominantly used for prophecy rather than *maleficium*. Most of these witches have minor roles in the plays in which they appear, and one would not suggest that witchcraft was the plays' central feature. These are not 'witchcraft plays', and their portrayal of sorcery is part of a wider engagement with classical literature.

Then there were dramatic portrayals of witchcraft predominantly influenced by the 'real' witches of Christian demonology. To consider first those that were nevertheless entirely literary creations. Ben Jonson's two dramatic portrayals of witches fall roughly into this category, although both are based on multiple sources. *The Masque of Queens* (1609) exhibits the most thorough amalgamation of classical and Christian sources in any dramatic work featuring witchcraft from the period. The purpose of the witches in the *Masque* is to provide an anti-masque, 'a foile or false *Masque*' in contrast to the main event, '*A celebration of honorable, and true Fame, bred out of Vertue*'. The witches represent the opposite qualities, '*Ignorance, Suspition, Credulity. &c.*'.¹⁰ They are in the tradition of classical witches, many classical works were consulted as sources,¹¹ and their role is a symbolic one, as was often the case with classical portrayals; however Jonson also drew on a wide variety of recent and not-so-recent Christian demonological sources (although W. T. Furniss suggests that Jonson's research was not quite as voluminous as his annotations in the printed text appear to indicate¹²). The witches are both generic in their broadness and simultaneously idiosyncratic in their panoptic lack of specificity.

Jonson's other, quite different portrayal of witchcraft was Maudlin in *The Sad Shepherd* (unfinished at Jonson's death and first printed in the second edition of his *Workes* in 1641). Once again she is an amalgamation. The accusations that her activities include "To make Ewes cast their Lambs! Swine eate their Farrow! / The House-wifes Tun not worke! Nor

⁷ T. May, *The Tragedy of Antigone* (London: Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, 1631), C7^v.

⁸ Joan of Arc in *1 Henry VI*, 5.3 & 4 and Margery Jourdain in *2 Henry VI*, 1.4.

⁹ *Antigone*, D2^{r-v}.

¹⁰ B. Jonson, *The Masque of Queens* (London: Nicholas Okes for R. Bansam & H. Wally, 1609), A4^r.

¹¹ See W. T. Furniss, 'The Annotation of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*', *The Review of English Studies*, 5, 20 (1954), 349.

¹² *Ibid.*, 347-48.

the Milk churne'¹³ are typical of those found in English witch trials.¹⁴ Her ability to transform her appearance (1.7) was a commonly-held belief about witches, albeit many demonologists were sceptical about it; she also has a demonic familiar (3.1). She refers to Hecate, however, as her 'dame' (2.3) (recalling the chief witch in the more obviously classical *Masque of Queens*), and the descriptions of Maudlin have something of the baroque flair of classically-influenced drama.¹⁵ Once again Jonson seems to have drawn his influence from various sources as they suited him.

The most famous example of Christian witchcraft on the stage is found in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (written c.1606,¹⁶ first printed in the folio collection of 1623), although Shakespeare's witches are ambiguous figures and another example of a portrayal which draws on multiple sources. The witches are in fact only referred to as such once in the play itself, and in a derogatory context (1.3.5); the rest of the time they are 'weird sisters', the term used by Holinshed, Shakespeare's source for the basic plot.¹⁷ Much has been written on the genesis of Shakespeare's witches and their location in the demonological tradition, complicated by this use of the term 'weird sisters'.¹⁸ While *Macbeth's* witches are clearly influenced by classical literature – the doom-laden prophecy of Act 4 Scene 1 is a classical motif, as is the cauldron scene, which echoes Seneca, Lucan and Ovid¹⁹ – they also fit fairly comfortably into the Christian demonological tradition. Their animal familiars (1.1.8-9), killing of livestock (1.3.2), revenge for denial of charity (1.3.3-9) are regularly found in English witchcraft trials; sailing in a sieve (1.3.7) had a long history in Continental demonology and features in *Newes from Scotland*, thought to be one of Shakespeare's sources.²⁰ As Anthony Harris writes, "The Jacobean theatregoer... would have recognised in the Weird Sisters a portrayal of some of the most traditional beliefs concerning witches – in their actions, their motives and their probable appearance."²¹ It should also be mentioned that although the word 'witch' is only used once in the script of

¹³ B. Jonson, 'The Sad Shepherd' in id., *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols, ed. C. H. Herford, P. & E. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-52), VII, 2.8. All subsequent quotations from *The Sad Shepherd* use this edition.

¹⁴ See M. E. Lamb, *The Popular Culture of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Jonson* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 223.

¹⁵ See e.g. Alken's two long speeches in 2.8.

¹⁶ *The Complete Works*, ed. Wells & Taylor, 969. All subsequent quotations from *Macbeth* use this edition.

¹⁷ See A. Harris, *Night's Black Agents – Witchcraft and Magic in Seventeenth-Century English Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 33-35. Holinshed took the term from his own sources.

¹⁸ See ibid., chapter 3; R. C. Friesen, *Supernatural Fiction in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 123-33.

¹⁹ Ibid., 36.

²⁰ See ibid., 40-43. See also S. Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare Bewitched' in J. N. Cox & L. J. Reynolds (eds), *New Historical Literary Study – Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 122.

²¹ *Night's Black Agents*, 38.

the play, it is used throughout in the folio's stage directions: whether audiences recognised the weird sisters as witches or not (and one early audience member referred to them as 'women feiries or Nymphes'²²), readers were not given the choice.

Macbeth was not published in print individually during the period; when it was finally printed, it included additional material by Thomas Middleton also found in his play *The Witch* (it may also have been cut by Middleton).²³ As we shall see, Middleton's play is in a quite different tone, and the songs, flight scenes and spectacle that Middleton borrowed from it for *Macbeth* are quite different to what remains of the original. It seems that, given the controversial topicality of *The Witch* (discussed below), its performances and presumably publication were suppressed, and the witchcraft scenes were considered too good to waste (perhaps partly because the King's Men had paid for props, costumes and stage machinery for them, and, perhaps, for compositions for the songs²⁴). *Macbeth* was revived, perhaps as a play more flattering to the king,²⁵ and Middleton's elaborate witch scenes were incorporated into it. The alterations may have been intended to enhance the play's appeal; they certainly would not have been included had there been any danger of their diminishing it. As Inga-Stina Ewbank writes, 'In the playhouse the additions to *Macbeth* clearly proved their worth, and Heminges and Condell were proud to include in the Folio an augmented and altered text of *Macbeth*'.²⁶ Middleton added more witchcraft to the play, but his witches are comic and more theatrically extravagant than Shakespeare's 'relatively restrained' witches²⁷ – the implication being that when it came to witchcraft audiences preferred spectacle to restraint, and comedy to horror.

Finally, among purely literary portrayals, there is the witch Calib in *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, printed in 1638 and attributed to John Kirke. This play is based on a popular work of prose fiction by Richard Johnson, *The Most famous History of the Seauen Champions of Christendome* (1596). There she is 'Kalyb the wise Ladie of the woods', an

²² From Simon Forman's account of the play, cited in G. Taylor, 'Macbeth (adaptation)' in G. Taylor & J. Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture – A Companion To The Collected Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 389.

²³ See Inga-Stina Ewbank's introduction to 'The Tragedy of Macbeth' in G. Taylor & J. Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), and the text provided there; Taylor, 'Macbeth (adaptation)' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ As Michael Neill suggests; 'Middleton and the supernatural' in S. Gossert (ed.), *Thomas Middleton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 299.

²⁶ Introduction to 'The Tragedy of Macbeth' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, 1165; see also Friesen, *Supernatural Fiction*, 144.

²⁷ R. Booth, 'Standing Within the Prospect of Belief – *Macbeth*, King James, and Witchcraft' in J. Newton & J. Bath (eds), *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008), 55.

‘Inchantres’, not called a witch although she does use ‘charmes and witchcrafts’.²⁸ The work is a chivalric romance and Johnson’s Kalyb is a sorceress in the classical tradition; the play does not significantly differ from the source, save that Kirke’s Calib is more explicitly a witch, and comic. Several minor elements are added by the playwright, taken from English witchcraft: her spirits suck her blood, and there is a reference to the Lancashire witches.²⁹ It has been suggested that in fact Thomas Heywood was either partly or wholly responsible for this play;³⁰ the evidence is inconclusive. Either way, once again the witch scenes are comic.

The most extensive dramatic portrayals of witchcraft were all in some way based on recent real events. These are the only plays specifically advertised as being about witchcraft, therefore it will be instructive to consider their treatments of the subject a little more closely. Middleton’s *The Witch* (not printed during the period; probably written/performed 1615-16³¹); Thomas Dekker, John Ford and William Rowley’s *The Witch of Edmonton* (first performed 1621³² but not printed until 1658); and Richard Brome and Thomas Heywood’s *The late Lancashire Witches* (1634). (There are two known lost plays which also fit this category, ‘The Witch of Islington’ and ‘Doctor Lambe and the Witches’. The former we know from an entry in Henslowe’s Diary in 1597;³³ it is perhaps based on the attempt on the Queen’s life by witchcraft in 1578.³⁴ The latter is known because members of the King’s Men petitioned the Master of the Revels in 1634 to prevent another company updating this slightly older play – based in some fashion upon the life of the wizard Doctor Lambe, who was murdered in 1628 – and performing it to cash in on the same events as *The late Lancashire Witches* was dramatising.³⁵)

Firstly, a look at the predominant feature of these plays – their source in recent events – in its wider context. It was not an uncommon thing to do. ‘At least until the 1620s

²⁸ R. Johnson, *The Most famous History of the Seauen Champions of Christendome* (London: for Cuthbert Burby, 1596), B2r, B3r.

²⁹ J. Kirke, *The Seven Champions of Christendome*, (London: John Okes, 1638), B2v, C2v, B3r.

³⁰ See P. Merchant, ‘Thomas Heywood’s hand in *The Seven Champions of Christendome*’, *The Library*, 33, 3 (1978).

³¹ See M. O’Connor, ‘The Witch’ in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*.

³² T. Dekker, J. Ford & W. Rowley, ‘The Witch of Edmonton’ in Dekker, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, 4 vols, ed. F. Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), III, 483. All subsequent quotations from *The Witch of Edmonton* use this edition.

³³ W. W. Greg (ed.), *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2 vols (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), I, 54.

³⁴ To which Jonson refers in the annotations to his *Masque of Queens*, B2r, n.; and see the entry in *LPD*. For the attack on Elizabeth see J. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness – Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 45.

³⁵ H. Berry, ‘The Globe Bewitched and *El Hombre Fiel*, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 1 (1984), 213-4. Two other lost plays possibly about witchcraft are known; ‘Black Joan’ and ‘Mother Redcap’, both from 1597. On ‘Black Joan’, see W. W. Greg (ed.), *Henslowe Papers – Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe’s Diary* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1907), 118, 121; on ‘Mother Redcap’, see below. See also the entries in *LPD*.

stage plays customarily dealt with topical matters', writes Raymond,³⁶ and this was often done by using a news pamphlet as a source, as *The Witch of Edmonton* does. News pamphlets were a fertile source of characters and plots, and their origin in contemporary events – especially when of a sensational nature – allowed playwrights and their companies to cash-in on the interest those events may have generated. But pamphlet news reports were also rich in potential for re-interpretation and expansion, with scope for ambiguity and for the representation of multiple angles on the same events.

Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (c.1590-93) is an early example; indeed it was 'one of the earliest to present recent historical and contemporary political events on the English stage',³⁷ and it was heavily based on contemporary news pamphlets.³⁸ The cycle of domestic drama around the turn of the century was predominantly made up of plays based on recent or fairly recent events: *Arden of Feversham* (1592),³⁹ *A Warning for Faire Women* (1599),⁴⁰ Robert Yarrington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1601),⁴¹ George Wilkins' *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage* (1607) and Middleton's *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608).⁴² As Lake writes, many of these plays were 'in effect, murder pamphlets turned into theatrical dialogue and action'⁴³ – with varying levels of addition and development. Later examples include John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619), essentially 'a staged newsbook', according to F. J. Levy;⁴⁴ William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker* (1636), based on a news ballad;⁴⁵ and Middleton's *A Game at Chesse* (performed 1624; published in an illicit edition in 1625⁴⁶), not a news play as such but dramatising current events in allegorical

³⁶ *Pamphlets*, 139.

³⁷ J. Briggs, 'Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*: A Reconsideration', *The Review of English Studies*, 34, 135 (1983), 257.

³⁸ See P. H. Kocher, 'Contemporary Pamphlet Backgrounds for Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*', part 1, in *Modern Language Quarterly*, 8, 2 (1947), 151 & *passim*; though see Briggs, 'Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*: A Reconsideration', 261-63 for some modifications of Kocher's arguments.

³⁹ Based on a story related by Holinshed; see E. D. Hill, 'Parody and History in *Arden of Feversham* (1592)', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 56, 4 (1993), 362ff.; L. Lieblein, 'The Context of Murder in English Domestic Plays, 1590-1610', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 23, 2 (1983), 183-86.

⁴⁰ Based on several slightly older murder pamphlets; see M. Greenberg, 'Signs of the Crimes: Topography, Murder, and Early Modern Domestic Tragedy', *Genre*, 40, 1 (2007), 7-8; Lake with Questier *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 26-27.

⁴¹ See Greenberg, 'Signs of the Crimes', 17.

⁴² The latter two were both based on the same case; see S. Wells (ed.), 'A Yorkshire Tragedy' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, 453; Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 71.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁴ See F. J. Levy, 'Staging the News' in M. D. Bristol & A. F. Marotti (eds), *Print, Manuscript, & Performance – The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 257-60, quotation at 259.

⁴⁵ See H. H. Adams, *English Domestic, Or, Homiletic Tragedy 1575 to 1642* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 173ff.

⁴⁶ See G. Taylor (ed.), 'A Game at Chesse: An Early Form' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, 1776.

form, based in part on the *Vox Populi* pamphlets of Thomas Scott.⁴⁷ There are many more plays known to have been based on current events, now lost.⁴⁸ This tradition of portraying the news on stage provides a more important context for *The Witch of Edmonton*, *The late Lancashire Witches* and *The Witch* than any supposed genre of ‘witchcraft plays’.⁴⁹ They were a small part of this wider genre and the ways in which they were constructed were influenced by the wider genre’s trends and developments. Just like news pamphlets, these plays cannot be understood without an appreciation of the wider context which fundamentally influenced both their content and their form.

While *The Witch* is not a news play, it engages with recent events. And although not printed during the period, it provides some interesting comparisons. The play’s engagement with current affairs is probably the reason that it was not printed. It has been suggested, and it seems likely, that the play satirises events surrounding the Frances Howard / Earl of Essex divorce case, and the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.⁵⁰ Involving magic, selective impotence, poisoning, as well as various marriage upsets, the events were a notable scandal, and as Paul Yachnin has discussed, Middleton made less blatant use of them in other plays too.⁵¹ Thus the play may well have been politically controversial, and may have been suppressed, either in performance or before seeing print (or simply not printed through fear of recrimination). As Yachnin speculates, however, the possibility that the witch scenes in *The Witch* ‘were successful as entertainment is suggested by their inclusion in the updated performance of *Macbeth* that lies behind the 1623 Folio version.’⁵² As with Middleton’s later play *A Game at Chesse*, the topical allusions in *The Witch* – and perhaps its success – were behind its suppression.

Middleton’s witches are in keeping with Christian demonology, notwithstanding that his head witch is called Hecate. Hecate’s description of her activities is full of material typical of English accusations:

⁴⁷ See *ibid*, 1777 & notes, *passim*; Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 139-40; Levy, ‘Staging the News’, 260-63. For some similar examples, see J. Limon, *Dangerous Matter – English Drama and Politics in 1623/4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6-7 & *passim*, and on *A Game at Chesse*, see chapter 4.

⁴⁸ Examples include: ‘The Isle of Dogs’ (1597?); ‘Cox of Collumpton’ (1599); ‘Thomas Merry’ (1599); ‘Page of Plymouth’ (1599); ‘The Stepmother’s Tragedy’ (1599); ‘Strange News out of Poland’ (1600); ‘The Late Murder’ (1624), by the authors of *The Witch of Edmonton*, with John Webster – see C. Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in ‘The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker’*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), III, 233; for all these lost plays, see the entries in *LPD*.

⁴⁹ Dolan uses the term; *Dangerous Familiars*, 226.

⁵⁰ See Marion O’Connor’s introduction to *The Witch* in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, 1124-26. The witches do not appear in the source for the play’s main plot; see Harris, *Night’s Black Agents*, 80.

⁵¹ P. Yachnin, ‘Scandalous Trades: Middleton’s *The Witch*, the ‘populuxe’ market and the politics of the theater’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 12 (1999), 227. See also A. Bellany, ‘The court’ in Gossert (ed.), *Thomas Middleton in Context*.

⁵² ‘Scandalous Trades’, 231.

They denied me often flour, barm and milk,
 Goose-grease and tar, when I ne'er hurt their charmings,
 Their brewlocks, nor their batches, nor forespoke
 Any of their breedings. Now I'll be meet with 'em.
 Seven of their young pigs I've bewitched already
 Of the last litter, nine ducklings, thirteen goslings,
 And a hog fell lame last Sunday after evensong too.
 And mark how their sheep prosper, or what sope
 Each milk-kine gives to th' pail.⁵³

Likewise, 'envy' of a neighbour's 'fat prosperity' can be fixed by incantations that 'destroy the young of all his cattle, / Blast vineyards, orchards, meadows or in one night / Transport his dung, hay, corn, by ricks, whole stacks, / Into thine own ground' (1.2.140-146) – typically rural concerns strongly reminiscent of English witchcraft stereotypes. The majority of Middleton's witchcraft material, particularly his charms and incantations (often used with scant regard for their original meaning), is in fact sourced from Scot. The use of the sceptical Scot is further suggestive of Middleton's satirical intent in the play. As Purkiss writes, 'Middleton's presentation of Hecate is in keeping with Scot's text, in that his very carelessness about magic and belief denotes an unwillingness to take it seriously'⁵⁴ – and Middleton must have expected at least some level of sympathy from his audiences. The witches do no real harm, besides causing Antonio's selective impotence, and even this does not influence the plot's outcome.⁵⁵ No position on the issue of witchcraft is explicitly taken by the play; there is no condemnation of the witches, or of the characters who make use of their magic (not, at least, as a result of doing so). Contra Madeleine Harwood,⁵⁶ the presentation of the witches is thoroughly comic; full of farce, ribaldry, wordplay and comic exaggeration. The clown Firestone in particular constantly deflates any threat of solemnity in the witchcraft scenes. This suggests that Middleton did not, and surely did not expect his audience to, treat them with a high degree of seriousness.

More closely based on recent events is *The Witch of Edmonton*. A collaboration, by Dekker, Ford and Rowley ('&c.' according to the title-page, but it has never been

⁵³ M. O'Connor (ed.), 'The Witch' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, 1.2.48-57. All subsequent quotations from *The Witch* use this edition.

⁵⁴ *The Witch in History*, 219.

⁵⁵ See Neill, 'Middleton and the supernatural' in Gossert (ed.), *Thomas Middleton in Context*.

⁵⁶ See M. Harwood, "'Witches! Live Witches! The house is full of witches'" – The Concept of Fear in Early Modern Witchcraft drama' in S. Hessel & M. Huppert (eds), *Fear Itself: Reasoning the Unreasonable* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B. V., 2010), 7ff. & *passim*.

established whether this does indeed refer to other authors), the play was based on the trial and execution of Elizabeth Sawyer for witchcraft, as reported in Henry Goodcole's pamphlet, which at times the play draws directly on.⁵⁷ 'The play elaborated Goodcole's carefully verified details and supplied its audience with news as well as diversion.'⁵⁸ As has been demonstrated, this was far from unusual; nor was it the only time these authors collaborated on a news play.⁵⁹ In fact, *The Witch of Edmonton* is a late example of the domestic tragedy that flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and which included so many news plays – indeed the play's main plot is a purely non-supernatural murder (or, at least, the Devil's role is only via suggestion). Leonora Brodwin goes so far as to suggest that the Sawyer plot is 'little more than a largely unrelated sub-plot to the more fully developed, fictional tragedy of Frank Thorney', adding that 'this main plot contains what is probably the most sophisticated treatment of domestic tragedy in the whole of the Elizabethan-Jacobean drama'.⁶⁰ As Henry Adams puts it, 'The most noteworthy characteristic of *The Witch of Edmonton* is its careful adherence to the customary practices of homiletic drama'.⁶¹ It was a domestic tragedy before it was a 'witchcraft play', and its treatment of its subject is in keeping with the tradition of domestic drama – an important context for an understanding of the play.⁶²

The play's Sawyer is the most archetypal English witch to appear in drama from this period. Her age, and appearance, 'poor, deform'd and ignorant, / And like a Bow buckl'd and bent together' (2.1.3-4); her curses on ill usage by her neighbours (2.1.24-32); her demonic animal familiar, Dog, who drinks her blood (4.1.151-54); once again, 'Corn, Man or Beast' (2.1.167) and the churning of butter (4.1.163) the targets of her *maleficium*, make her a stereotypical English witch, her eloquence notwithstanding. It is also the most sympathetic representation of a witch in early modern drama; this is a result of the play's elaboration of its pamphlet source in a manner typical of domestic drama. The sympathy is not present in Goodcole; the playwrights add it to their portrayal, together with a critical awareness of how witchcraft can be caused by poverty and suffering. It is partly a result of the dramatic form itself, which allowed a more nuanced presentation of events. News pamphlets were at pains to demonstrate that justice had been done; plays were under no

⁵⁷ See the commentary in Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries*, III; S. Clark, *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 134-40.

⁵⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 139.

⁵⁹ As they did on 'The Late Murder in White Chapel' (1624), with John Webster; see the entry in *LPD*.

⁶⁰ L. L. Brodwin, 'The Domestic Tragedy of Frank Thorney in *The Witch of Edmonton*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 7, 2 (1967), 311.

⁶¹ *English Domestic, Or, Homiletic Tragedy*, 141.

⁶² The play is included in Martin Wiggins' recent compilation, *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

such pressure and therefore had room for greater ambiguity in the portrayal of their subjects. As Clark writes of *The Witch of Edmonton*,

through its generic access to a greater diversity of rhetorical strategies and presentational techniques for the construction of human lives and causality than are available to Goodcole in his homiletic pamphlet, it opens up the subject of witchcraft so as to explore, if not to reconcile, ideologically contradictory aspects of it.⁶³

As has often been noted, we are ‘encouraged to see Elizabeth Sawyer as much as a victim as a criminal’.⁶⁴ There is a palpable sense in the play of how Sawyer is driven into witchcraft: ‘Some call me Witch;’ she laments in her first scene,

And being ignorant of my self, they go
About to teach me how to be one: urging
That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
Forespeaks their Cattle, doth bewitch their Corn,
Themselves, their Servants, and their Babes at nurse. (2.1.8-13)

As J. M. Garrett writes, ‘the playwrights draw our attention to the circumstances of social alienation or even abuse toward suspects that often laid the foundation for suspicions of criminal conduct.’⁶⁵ Garrett suggests that the resultant sympathy for Sawyer is the most noteworthy feature of the play, but it is typical of the way domestic plays elaborated their sources. It also reflects attempts by witchcraft theorists to moderate the common desire to blame misfortune on anyone fitting the witch stereotype; a moderation nonetheless coupled with the assurance that witches could still be guilty and should be condemned as such when this was the case, as Sawyer is. There was no room for such discourse in news pamphlets; it was the dramatic form that opened up these discursive possibilities, a clear example of how different forms produced different representations of witchcraft. *The Witch of Edmonton* was not published until much later, however; this presumably suggests that it was not originally a success on the stage.

Also based on news was Brome and Heywood’s *The late Lancashire Witches*. One of three known collaborations between the two playwrights (although the only one to

⁶³ *Women and Crime*, 135

⁶⁴ P. Corbin & D. Sedge (eds), *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1986), 25.

⁶⁵ J. M. Garrett, ‘Dramatizing Deviance: Sociological Theory in *The Witch of Edmonton*’, *Criticism*, 49, 3 (2007), 328.

survive),⁶⁶ it was based on a second major witch-trial in Lancashire in 1633-34. Due to doubts about the evidence against them the accused were brought to London in 1634; the play was written, performed and printed while the final judgement on the witches was still pending. Although no news pamphlet is known to have been published on the case,⁶⁷ it obviously caused some sensation and must have struck its authors, and their company the King's Men, as a good subject for a play. We know from a contemporary account by civil servant Nathaniel Tomkyns that it proved popular in performance: it was 'acted by reason of y^e great concourse of people 3 dayes together'.⁶⁸ It was surely on the back of this success that the play was put into print.

The witchcraft episodes in the play are based mainly on the accusations made by ten-year-old Edmund Robinson and others at the trial; such as the mysterious greyhounds who turn into witches,⁶⁹ the milk-pail that moves of its own accord (E2^v), the feast at which the witches receive food from above by pulling on ropes (G2^v); and, more typically, the confession scene, in which Meg admits to sexual relations with the Devil (L3^{r-v}). These witches too have familiars who drink their blood (C4^r) and bewitch the crops of their neighbours (C4^r). There seems little sense in which news is being reported here; it is simply being mined as a source of dramatic humour. Additional episodes are drawn from the research Heywood conducted for his *GYNAIKEION: or, Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women* (1624) and *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (1635).⁷⁰ The focus, however, is on farce and comic effect. Heywood takes none of the theological commentary from his other works; only a few (rather facetious) anecdotes. The witches describe their magic as a 'game' and 'More for our mirth... than our gain' (C4^r); 'Tis all for mirth, we mean no hurt' (I1^v). And in a 'sabbat' scene, the witches sing to their familiars 'suck our blood freely / And with it be jolly / While merrily we sing, hey trolly lolly' (L4^r) – hardly a terrifying refrain. As Heather Hirschfeld writes, 'Rather than endorsing or denying the witches or their craft, these scenes make the coven's activities seem not so much illegal as recreational... the witches are comedians whose activities are a species of Caroline urban

⁶⁶ M. Butler, 'Brome, Richard (c.1590–1652)' in *DNB*.

⁶⁷ Although cf. Ady, writing in the 1650s: 'And before these Wars began, what Atheistical reports were published of certain *Lancashire* people, that they could transform themselves into Grey-hounds, and into Men and Women again, and pull down Butter and other provision from the Air (or from whence any crack-brained accuser would imagine?)'; can he be referring to the play? Or a lost pamphlet report? *A Candle in the Dark*, 104.

⁶⁸ Quoted by Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched', 212.

⁶⁹ R. Brome & T. Heywood, *The late Lancashire VVitches* (London: Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, 1634), E1^{r-v}. All subsequent quotations from *The late Lancashire VVitches* use this edition.

⁷⁰ Cf. for example 5.2 with T. Heywood, *GYNAIKEION: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concerninge Women* (London: Adam Islip, 1624), 410; and 4.5 with id., *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (London: Adam Islip, 1635), 512ff.

wit'.⁷¹ Even Tomkyns noted with apparent surprise that the play takes no position on witchcraft: 'there be not in it (to my vnderstanding) any... iudgement to state o^r tenet of witches (w^{ch} I expected,) or application to virtue but full of ribaldrie and things improbable and impossible'.⁷² This is despite Heywood's extensive knowledge of witchcraft theory, surely suggesting an assumption of what audiences would desire; and given the play's apparent success on stage, it appears to have been a correct one.⁷³ This success and the speed at which it went to print forms a striking contrast with *The Witch of Edmonton*, given the plays' differing treatments of witchcraft. The comic, less morally inquisitive treatment seems to have had the greater success. Important though, is that they were different: even amongst plays based on current events there was no one type of witchcraft on the early modern stage.

Generically, *The late Lancashire Witches* also bears relation to the earlier domestic plays; its setting and its characters are in the same vein, even if it is comic rather than tragic. The play is regularly included in critical discussions of domestic drama.⁷⁴ Adams suggests that the play 'contains part of the characteristic pattern of domestic tragedy... The drama is filled with the language of domestic tragedies and is based on the same religious doctrines'.⁷⁵ Heywood's biographer also states that the play 'belongs to the category of domestic drama. It repeats with appropriate variations the plot of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* or *The English Traveller*'.⁷⁶ The link to earlier domestic drama indeed comes in part from Heywood, who wrote several domestic plays around the turn of the century, including the two mentioned and the comic *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (written/performed c.1604,⁷⁷ first published 1638). 'Heywood specialised in themes of domestic discord'.⁷⁸ *The late Lancashire Witches* looks backwards to Heywood's earlier domestic plays, tragedies and comedies, and forwards to Brome's later comedies such as *The Antipodes* (performed 1638; printed 1640), which features similar play on the inversion of social roles. Lake has discussed the shift from tragedy to comedy in domestic drama across the first half of the seventeenth century, and *The late Lancashire Witches* fits into this shift – plays that used the same themes and motifs as earlier domestic drama, but to comic

⁷¹ H. A. Hirschfeld, 'Collaborating across Generations: Thomas Heywood, Richard Brome, and the Production of *The Late Lancashire Witches*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30, 2 (2000), 364-65.

⁷² Quoted in Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched', 212-13.

⁷³ Tomkyns thought the play 'merrie and excellent', *ibid.*, 213.

⁷⁴ Clark, *Women and Crime*, chapter 4; Adams, *English Domestic, Or, Homiletic Tragedy*, Appendix B; Wiggins (ed.), *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays*, xliii.

⁷⁵ Adams, *English Domestic, Or, Homiletic Tragedy*, 204.

⁷⁶ A. M. Clark, *Thomas Heywood – Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), 242.

⁷⁷ See D. Kathman, 'Heywood, Thomas (c.1573–1641)' in *DNB*.

⁷⁸ Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, 317.

rather than tragic ends.⁷⁹ The fact that the witchcraft in the play is comic has often been used in support of arguments for a change in attitudes to witchcraft; that drama was a participant in ‘the cultural process that gradually marginalized and discredited belief in witchcraft.’⁸⁰ Once considered in its broader literary context, however, it becomes clear that this was almost certainly the result of wider developments in dramatic writing, and cannot be used as evidence for changes in the nature of witchcraft belief.

White witches also made an appearance in the drama of the period. John Lyly’s *Mother Bombie* (1594) is a romantic comedy centred around a cunning woman. There seems to have been a real-life ‘witch’ named Mother Bumby;⁸¹ in the play her magic is entirely benevolent. The tension surrounding her status as a magical practitioner is registered, however; ‘They saie you are a witch’, Silena asks; ‘They lie’, replies Bombie, ‘I am a cunning woman.’⁸² A similar case is Heywood’s *VVise Woman of Hogsdon*, which centres on a cunning woman whose ‘magic’ is entirely non-supernatural. Her activities are typical of cunning folk: as she puts it, ‘I am a VVise-vvoman, and a Fortune-teller, and under that I deale in Physicke and Fore-speaking, in Palmistry, and recovering of things lost.’⁸³ Just as in *Mother Bombie*, however, characters in the play refer to the Wise Woman as a witch, something she herself denies, as do other characters. Asked ‘Canst conjure?’ the Wise Woman replies, ‘Oh that’s a foule word! but I can tell you your Fortune, as they say; I have some little skill in Palmistry, but never had to doe with the devill.’⁸⁴ Another play recorded by Henslowe but now lost also perhaps refers to a cunning woman; payments were made to Anthony Munday and Michael Drayton in 1597 and 1598 for ‘the boocke called mother Read cape’,⁸⁵ possibly a witch but more likely to be another cunning woman in the vein of *Mother Bombie*; Mother Redcap is mentioned as a benevolent character alongside Mother Bumby in Drayton’s poem ‘The Moone-Calfe’ (1627).⁸⁶ Although even less common than black witches, therefore, white witches did appear in the drama of the period.

⁷⁹ See *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 392ff.

⁸⁰ Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, 217, 220-21; see also Harris, *Night’s Black Agents*, 176ff.; C. Brooks, ‘Witchcraft and Stage Spectacle – Spectacular Witches After 1604’ in Newton & Bath (eds), *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, 158.

⁸¹ Mentioned in T. I., *A VVorld of vvonders*, E4r.

⁸² J. Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (London: Thomas Scarlet for Cuthbert Burby, 1594), D2r.

⁸³ T. Heywood, *The VVise-woman Of Hogsdon* (London: M. P. for Henry Shephard, 1638), D4r. Such activities were forbidden in the English witchcraft statutes.

⁸⁴ Ibid., C2r. See also e.g. B3r, C1r-v.

⁸⁵ Greg, *Henslowe’s Diary*, I, 82, 83; see also the entry in *LPD*.

⁸⁶ M. Drayton, ‘The Moone-Calfe’ in *The Battaille of Agincourt* (London: for William Lee, 1627), 166. See also Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 189; and Heywood, *The VVise Woman of Hogsdon*, C1r, where Mother Redcap is also mentioned.

In fact, in many of the plays discussed in this chapter, although evil, the witches are first and foremost a source of help to the other characters. In those plays influenced by the classical tradition this is common; these witches are consulted, like oracles. They are sought out to tell fortunes or otherwise obtain information (Margery Jordan in 2 *Henry VI*, the witches in May's *Antigone*, Canidia in Goffe's *Orestes*), force love (Erictho in *Sophonisba*, Dipsas in *Endimion*) or simply to get revenge (the witch in *The Valiant Welshman* and Dipsas again). The enchantress Melissa in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (1594) is also a helpful 'witch'.⁸⁷ We find this in those plays with Christian witches too: Macbeth, although it is he who is first approached by the weird sisters, later seeks them out to know the future (4.1); young Cuddy Banks in *The Witch of Edmonton* asks Sawyer to help him win his love (2.1.201ff.); and just about all the main characters in *The Witch* go to the witches for help (1.2, 2.2, 5.2).

I suggest that the plays registered, though they did not resolve, tensions surrounding the definition of witchcraft. This was partially a result of the medium itself, with its greater scope for ambiguity. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the dramatists had not simply absorbed the demonologists' definition of witches – in which case they would have been portrayed as unambiguously bad. It seems that this sense of the witch as helpful as well as harmful was a common one. Indeed, it was exactly this opinion that the demonologists were trying to quash. The ambiguous portrayal of magical practitioners on the stage perhaps suggests that the boundary between good and bad magic was in any case a blurred one, and supports the suggestion in 1.1 that the opinions of witchcraft theorists were far from universally held.

The portrayal of witchcraft in the drama of the period was complex, and certainly not unanimous. The overwhelming impression is variety rather than homogeneity. It was also infrequent; witches as central characters were rare, and serious engagements with witchcraft theory even rarer. A handful of plays out of the hundreds that were written during the period does not constitute a vogue, and this is compounded by the variety found among the portrayals themselves.⁸⁸ There was not 'an entire genre of witch dramas';⁸⁹ without needing to ask just how many works are required for their number to be termed a whole genre, the differing origins of the portrayals themselves should be enough to undermine the suggestion, as should their clear links with wider trends in dramatic writing. The playwrights took their portrayals from a range of sources, both literary, theological and

⁸⁷ R. Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (London: John Danter for Cuthbert Burby, 1594), G1^r-G2^v.

⁸⁸ Dolan claims that 'A relatively large number of Stuart plays include witches' – but names just six; *Dangerous Familiars*, 210.

⁸⁹ R. Wilson, 'The pilot's thumb: *Macbeth* and the Jesuits' in Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches*, 127.

from recent news via both printed and oral reports; and witchcraft could be serious and comic – indeed, comic portrayals seem to have been most popular, hardly suggesting a universal terror of witchcraft. These plays’ links with broader dramatic trends are clear, and important for any understanding of their content. The differences in genesis between plays based on classical sources and plays in the tradition of domestic drama, for example, are significant, and we should be wary of lumping these plays together based only on the fact that they include magical women as characters.

Clark speculates that ‘The relative rarity of witchcraft as a subject for domestic plays may be related to the fact that it is essentially a rural rather than an urban crime’ – but she is surely clutching at straws.⁹⁰ The simplest explanation for its rarity is that it was not as universally fascinating as some earlier critics have wanted to suggest. Assuming that witchcraft was an exceptional and interesting subject, then attempting to explain why there are so few plays in which it is a primary feature is rather putting the cart before the horse. We should instead be looking at these plays objectively for the evidence they can provide about the subject. And once again it seems that witchcraft was a less sensational subject for early modern people, that it was more firmly anchored in its literary and commercial context, and that it was more complex and invited a wider range of responses, than we have previously understood.

⁹⁰ *Women and Crime*, 134. In any case cf. A. M. Clark, who suggests that ‘the occult art... by the very frequency of its supposed manifestations in ordinary settings was particularly suitable for the domestic play’; *Thomas Heywood*, 242.

1.4 Ballads

Drama was a popular medium during the period, but even more popular was the broadside ballad. Ballads were ‘everywhere’, according to Erik Hebeker.¹ Sandra Clark writes that ballads ‘were published in enormous numbers. They constituted the cheapest, most accessible, most widely available form of print from the mid-sixteenth century for about a hundred years.’² ‘Indeed, one could not travel anywhere in the city of London without hearing ballads sung on street corners or seeing broadsides pasted up on posts and walls.’³ While only two ballads on witchcraft survive from the period, they nevertheless offer important perspective on early modern representations of witchcraft.

The first extant witchcraft ballad is *Damnable Practises Of three Lincoln-shire Witches* (1619), a news ballad, relating the case of the Flower family, the Belvoir witches, accused of bewitching the Earl of Rutland’s children. It is the same case as reported in *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, and both were produced by the same printer and publisher, George Elde and John Barnes. The pamphlet is advertised at the end of the ballad. This explains why the similarities between the two works are, as Sarah Williams puts it, ‘staggering.’⁴ The ballad’s narrative follows exactly the same lines as that of the pamphlet, though in heavily abridged form, and without the pamphlet’s brief demonological preface. The ballad also includes the same fulsome flattery of the Earl as found in the pamphlet. The approach is in keeping with Matthias Shaaber’s suggestion that the news ballad ‘tends to distil the essence of a recent event rather than to disperse itself among the details’.⁵ The ballad ends with a stanza of prayer for Heaven to ‘convert their wicked lives / which in bad wayes are spent: / The feares of God and love of heaven, such courses will prevent’⁶ – moral conclusions, often of a fairly general nature, were a common ballad motif, presumably pandering to similar reader interests as the moralising micro-sermons in news pamphlets.

¹ E. Hebeker, ‘The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad’ in *EBBA*.

² *Women and Crime*, 11. See also A. McShane, ‘Ballads and broadsides’ in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture – Volume 1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³ P. Fumerton & A. Guerrini, ‘Introduction: Straws in the Wind’ in id. (eds), *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 2.

⁴ S. F. Williams, “‘A Swearing and Blaspheming Wretch’: Representations of Witchcraft and Excess in Early Modern English Broadside Balladry and Popular Song”, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 30 (2011), 327.

⁵ *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper*, 193.

⁶ *Damnable Practises Of three Lincoln-shire Witches* (London: George Elde for John Barnes, 1619); reprinted in H. E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland – Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 97-103; quotation at 103. The pamphlet also covers three Leicestershire witches; these are left out of the ballad, presumably to preserve narrative unity.

The other ballad survives only in a damaged copy, missing both title (partially) and imprint (completely). The title is reconstructed as *The Salisbury Assizes. Or, The Reward of Witchcraft*, and the ballad is dated to 1653 as it relates the case of Anne Bodenham and the maid she allegedly seduced to witchcraft, and who became possessed. The case was also reported in two pamphlets, Bower's *Doctor Lamb Revived* and the anonymous *Doctor Lamb's Darling*, both also of 1653. The imprint of the ballad is missing, so we cannot be certain if it shares either printer or publisher with either of the pamphlets; either way, both pamphlets post-date the ballad.⁷ The first half of the ballad, after noting that Bodenham was a cunning woman, who 'Unto the Divell... gave her soule / Sealed in a bloody scroule', focuses on the seduction of the maid Anne Stiles to witchcraft; the second half focuses on Stiles' possession and Bodenham's execution. The ballad's author appears to have attended both trial and execution; his(?) report that Bodenham refused to pray and 'desperately did dye' is corroborated by Bower.⁸ This ballad too includes a generalised moral gloss; the opening stanza meditates on sin in general:

When men and Women leave the way
 of God, and goodnesse quite,
 They practice mischief every day
 and therein take delight
 The Devil then is nye at hand...

And the ballad ends: 'Let all good people therefore say / [They'll join the]ir hearts with me and pray'.⁹ Ballads offered the least complex representation of witchcraft of any of the forms considered in Part one. In both ballads, witchcraft is not only rendered simplistic in terms of narrative detail, it is reduced to the same moral platitudes found across the spectrum of ballad publishing, further complicating the concept of a coherent discourse of witchcraft independent of literary form and context.

Neither of these ballads was registered, and both appear to survive in just one copy, demonstrating both the transience of these works as well as the likelihood that there are

⁷ The ballad states that Bodenham was executed 'this moneth the 19. day', i.e. March, [*The Sal*]isbury Assizes. [*or, The Ren*]ard of Witchcraft (London: [s. n.] 1653); reprinted in H. E. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan – Ballads and Broad-sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640-1660* (New York: New York University Press, 1923), 329-35, quotation at 335. Bower's preface is dated the 10th of April; Thomason dated his copy the 18th of July; Bower, *Doctor Lamb Revived*, BL E.705, A2^v & title-page. *Doctor Lamb's Darling* is copied from Bower's pamphlet.

⁸ Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 335. Cf. Bower, *Doctor Lamb Revived*, 36.

⁹ Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 331, 335. Material in square brackets is Rollins' interpolation in damaged sections.

many ballads now lost. From the Stationers' Register we know of several more ballads on the subject of witchcraft which were registered and which have not survived. The earliest is *ye skrattinge of ye nytcbe*, registered (alongside *ye Renovacon of Archery*) to Edward White in 1579,¹⁰ a publisher 'heavily involved in the ballad trade'.¹¹ It is not certain that this was a news ballad; if it was, there are two possible pamphlets of the same year it could relate to, *A Rebeersall both straung and true* and *A Detection of damnable driftes*, which both feature confrontation between a witch and an alleged victim in which the victim scratches the witch's face (a folk remedy for bewitchment).¹² Significantly, both pamphlets were also published by Edward White. 'A ballat intituled *A warnynge to nytcbes*' was registered to Abraham Cotton in 1585,¹³ another unspecific title. There was a pamphlet published that year, *The severall factes of Witch-crafte*, so it is possible the ballad relates to the same case. The pamphlet was printed by John Charlewood, however, so we have no evidence of a connection. A clearer link is evident between the entry to Henry Carre in 1589 of *A newe ballad of the life and deathe of Thre nyches Arrayned and executed at Chelmissford*;¹⁴ this ballad relates to the case publicised in the pamphlet *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches* of the same year, although the latter was not published by Carre.¹⁵ A similarly clear connection is between the *lamentable song of Three Wytches of Warbos*, about the Warboys trial, registered to John Danter in 1593;¹⁶ Danter was one of the printers of the *Warboys* pamphlet of the same year. In 1612 George Elde registered 'A ballad called, *The worldes wonder beinge the sorrowfull lamentacon of a scholler of ffraunce named Lewes Gaufrydey who had gyuen both body and soule to the Deuill*',¹⁷ which story was also published in a pamphlet in the same year, *The Life And Death of Lewis Gaufredy*, although not published by Elde. Two witchcraft ballads were entered in 1634, both on the same day; one to Thomas Lambert entitled *The Witches Dance* and one to Francis Smith entitled *Prophane pastime or the witches Mad humors*.¹⁸ Either or both could plausibly relate to the Lancashire trials of that year, about which no pamphlet was published, only Brome and Heywood's play. It is not inconceivable that the

¹⁰ Arber, II.358.

¹¹ T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 75.

¹² *A Rebeersall both straung and true*, B2r; *A Detection of damnable driftes* (London: [J. Kingston] for Edward White, 1579), A7r.

¹³ Arber, II.440.

¹⁴ Ibid., II.526.

¹⁵ Peter Haining claimed that this ballad survives, and printed a partial transcript, in his *The Witchcraft Papers – Contemporary Records of the Witchcraft Hysteria in Essex 1560-1700* (London: Robert Hale & Company, 1974), but it is likely a fraud.

¹⁶ Arber, II.641.

¹⁷ Ibid., III.493.

¹⁸ Ibid., IV.326.

ballads in fact relate to the play: they were registered shortly after its first performance,¹⁹ and both ballads have apparently comic titles which reflect the tone of the play (and which further support the suggestion that witchcraft was neither a unified discourse nor a universally terrifying one).

It is tempting to attach significance to the scarcity of witchcraft ballads in general, in such a popular form; certainly there is no evidence whatsoever for Williams' claim that 'Representations of witchcraft were... [a] seemingly pervasive phenomena during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras.'²⁰ But given the high rate of loss to which these ephemeral works were prone, it is risky to draw any statistical conclusions.²¹ What is clear, however, is that all surviving witchcraft ballads, and many (if not all) known lost ballads, were topical, reporting recent cases of witchcraft. As seen in 1.2, 'base and false ballets' were mentioned by news pamphlet authors as unwelcome interventions in the field of news publishing;²² pamphlet authors denigrated the authority of ballads in order to enhance their own, but their attempts do not appear to have been successful in stemming the tide of such ballads.

Witchcraft was just one of many news topics portrayed in ballads. Clark writes that as 'a form that mediates between the oral and the written, [the ballad] had been used as a medium of news, especially political news, from early in the period.'²³ Just as with pamphlets, there were ballads on murders and monstrous births, robbery and treason, political events, natural disasters, and any number of wonders given a providential spin.²⁴ As with plays based on news, their value as entertainment was of foremost importance for their readership. Often popular 'topical' ballads could be reprinted decades after the events they describe, when the boundary between news and history became blurred.²⁵ All known witchcraft ballads, however, were printed very soon after the trials they report, and none are known to have been reprinted, suggesting that their topicality was high and their popularity as subjects low. Angela McShane has argued that 'The ultimate aim of a ballad publisher was to create a classic, that turned events into songs that would outlast the mere

¹⁹ The ballads were registered on the 22nd of August, and Tomkyns' letter describing having seen the play is dated the 16th; see Berry, 'The Globe Bewitched', 214.

²⁰ 'Representations of Witchcraft', 333.

²¹ On the scarcity of witchcraft ballads, Clark speculates that 'perhaps the attraction of witchcraft narratives was essentially in the detail of the 'examinations and confessions' which it was impossible to render in ballad form.' *Women and Crime*, 99. But these are regularly found in other crime pamphlets too, as discussed in 1.2.

²² Goodcole, *Wonderfull discoverie*, A3^v.

²³ *Women and Crime*, 3 and chapter 3.

²⁴ See H. E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, 34, 2 (1919); P. Hehmeyer, 'Room for Company: The Ballads of State and Times' in *EBBA*; T. Gniady, 'Wounds and Ulcers: Tragedy Ballads in the Pepys Collection' in *EBBA*. See also N. Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, trans. G. Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chapter 4.2.3.

²⁵ B. Gahan, 'History, True and Fabulous' in *EBBA*.

novelty of ‘news’ and be printed again and again.²⁶ By this criterion, the witchcraft ballads were not a success.

Particularly notable is the regularity with which the cases these ballads recount were also reported in a pamphlet, often produced by the same Stationer(s). In this they were typical of the wider ballad market. Events which produced both a ballad and a pamphlet from Stationers working independently include the trial of the thief John Selman, the murder of John Lambe, the crimes of Elizabeth Evans and Thomas Sherwood, and the hog-faced woman reported in 1640.²⁷ On the other hand, a search of the Stationers’ Register uncovers numerous instances in which ballads and pamphlets on the same news topics were produced together by the same Stationers. Examples include the murders committed by Thomas Merry in 1594, Elizabeth Seabrook in 1608, William Hollis in 1613, and a major storm in Norwich in 1656.²⁸ Witchcraft trials were not unique in producing news reports in a variety of forms.

Hyder Rollins suggests that the purpose of these double-format publications was to allow the ballad to advertise the pamphlet.²⁹ Pamphlets, with their longer and more detailed accounts, perhaps brought in more money for the Stationer, but ballads had a much wider audience. ‘To one person who visited the book-stalls’, Rollins writes, there were ‘hundreds who heard ballads sung’.³⁰ As Natascha Wurzbach suggests:

The distribution method of the broadside ballad by performance and street sales very probably constituted a distinct advantage as regards reaching potential receivers of news... as long as most other printed matter was sold on permanent stalls and without the energy and effort of the presenter which was peculiar to the street ballad.³¹

Thus the advert for the related pamphlet at the end of *Damnable Practises* reads:

²⁶ ‘Ballads and broadsides’ in Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture – Volume 1*, 361-62.

²⁷ *The Arraignement of Iohn Selman* (London: W. Hall for Thomas Archer, 1612) and Henry Smith’s *The Arrainement, condemnation, and execution of the grand [?] Iohn Selman* (London: George Elde for John Wright, 1612); *A Briefe Description Of The Notorious Life Of Iohn Lambe* (Amsterdam [i.e. London: George Miller?] 1628) and Martin Parker’s *The Tragedy of Doctor Lambe* (London: for Henry Gosson, 1628) (Lambe’s murder also inspired a play, as mentioned in 1.3); Goodcole’s *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry sent after Lust and Murther* (London: Nicholas & John Okes, 1635) and *Murder upon Murder* (London: for Thomas Langley to be sold by Thomas Lambert, 1635); Laurence Price’s *A Monstrous shape. Or A shapelesse Monster* (London: Miles Flesher for Thomas Lambert, 1640?) and *A certaine Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman* (London: J. O. to be sold by Francis Grove, 1640).

²⁸ Arber, II.658 (John Danter also registered a ballad on this subject, *ibid.*, II.659); III.374; III.512; G. E. B. Eyre, C. R. Rivington & H. R. Plomer (eds), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: from 1640-1708*, 3 vols (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1913-14), I, 76; for other examples, see Arber, II.671, 672; III.258, 263, 341, 387. See also Clark, *Women and Crime*, 98ff.

²⁹ ‘The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad’, 295.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 147.

*There is a booke printed of these Witches, wherein you shall know all their examinations and confessions at large: As also the wicked practise of three other most Notorious Witches in Leceister-shire with all their examinations and confessions.*³²

The pamphlet is advertised as more detailed, with more material; suggesting that these different formats were not necessarily intended to cater to different types of reader,³³ but different reader needs or desires. This tangible link between ballads and pamphlets demonstrates the importance of considering the various methods of dissemination of news alongside one another.

In their form, the surviving witchcraft ballads are also typical of the wider corpus. The overwhelming majority of ballads, particularly in the seventeenth century, used a standard form, whatever their subject. Even current events were not distinguished from ballads on other topics by form. The standard ballad form, ‘the two-part... sheet with a row of woodcuts along the top,’ developed in the late sixteenth century and remained the norm throughout the remainder of the early modern period.³⁴ This was the form taken by both *Damnable Practises* and *The Salisbury Assizes*. The former has two woodcut illustrations: of the three witches, also used in the accompanying pamphlet, and (rather oddly) a generic farmyard scene apparently depicting a fox stealing a chicken. While the first must have been commissioned specially for the case, the latter has little, if any, relevance to the narrative. The woodcut illustrations to *The Salisbury Assizes* are even more bizarre: on one side are two images of a begging leper with a devil and a house on fire in the background; on the other side of the sheet is an illustration of a group of finely dressed men holding up a globe. Aside from the tenuous diabolical connection, which at least signals the theme of the ballad, none of the images have any relevance to the ballad narrative; but this was not uncommon.³⁵ It demonstrates the crudity of these productions, as well as their need to conform to expectations; images were popular and helped ballads to sell, whatever their relationship to the ballad itself. Once again, witchcraft is given no special treatment or prominence – the motives and structures of the wider form are the most important

³² Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, 103. See also Martin Parker’s *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish* (London: for Thomas Lambert, 1635), which after the imprint prints the following: ‘There is a Booke to satisfie such as desire a larger decription hereof.’

³³ As suggested by Clark, *Women and Crime*, 75.

³⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 79. See also L. Shephard, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), 14-21.

³⁵ See Wurzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad*, 9; S. Chess, ‘Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration’ in *EBBA*; Rollins, ‘The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad’, 273ff.

influencing factors, and the representation of witchcraft is intimately connected with other imagery and concepts.

A major aspect of ballads is that they were songs to be sung, not just texts intended 'only to be read or looked at.'³⁶ This meant that illiteracy was not necessarily a barrier to their dissemination, further expanding their reach.³⁷ Both surviving witchcraft ballads open with some variation on the traditional 'come and listen to my song' motif that reflects this, and which had a practical use for those who sold ballads, singing them in order to do so.³⁸ *Damnable Practises* opens, 'Of damned deeds, and deadly dole, / I make my mournfull song'³⁹. And after an opening stanza introducing the theme of sin, *The Salisbury Assizes* continues, 'As by the Story you shall heare / if you will list a while'.⁴⁰

Another method, therefore, of contextualising these ballads is to consider their tunes. *The Salisbury Assizes* was to be sung to the tune of 'Bragandary', a reasonably common tune during the period. It is found in other news ballads such as *Newes out of East India: Of the cruell and bloody vsage of our English Merchants* (1624); *The vnnaturall Wife: Or, The lamentable Murther, of one goodman Dauis, Locke-smith* (1628); Martin Parker's *A warning for wiuies, By the example of one Katherine Francis... who for killing her husband, Robert Francis with a pair of Sizgers... was burned on Clarkenwell-Greene* (1629); *Murder upon Murder* (1635); and another of Parker's ballads, *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish*. The tune of *Damnable Practises* was 'Ladies fall', a slightly more common tune during the period and regularly found in murder ballads and other tales of women dying or proving false in matters of the heart. Examples include: *The Lamenting Lady* (1620?); *A warning for all desperate VVomen* (1628); *The Brides Buriall* (c.1635); and *A Warning for Maidens* (1650?). The melody had obvious associations with criminal women. Clark suggests that 'tunes... could become an extra component of meaning, in that particular ones became conventionally attached to particular kinds of text.'⁴¹ As Christopher Marsh explains, 'the tune added new momentum and depth to the meaning of the text and connected it with all the ballads that had previously been sung to the same melody.'⁴² Melodies could both reinforce and undermine textual messages. Here the themes are clear: not witchcraft but the wider theme of crime

³⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 89; see also C. Marsh, 'The sound of print in early modern England: the broadside ballad as song' in J. Crick & A. Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 173.

³⁷ See A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 38-39; Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, 7-9.

³⁸ See Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 38-39; Wurzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad*, chapters 3.3. & 3.4.

³⁹ Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, 97.

⁴⁰ Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 331. For some other examples see Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, 18, 31, 162, 250, 257, 263.

⁴¹ *Women and Crime*, 73.

⁴² 'The sound of print' in Crick & Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print*, 180.

and sensational news – the same sorts of wider themes we saw witchcraft submerged within in 1.2. If ‘Melody made meaning’,⁴³ then the meaning here is broader than just witchcraft. This confirms the argument that witchcraft was encountered not as an isolated discourse but as a small and interconnected element of much wider contexts.

Unlike pamphlets or plays, nobody has dreamt of suggesting that witchcraft ballads were a genre of their own. Because of the conservative nature of the broadside ballad, witchcraft ballads’ position as one small part of a much wider form is unmistakeable. This is perhaps to be expected in a literary form so strongly linked with its material form. But I suggest that this offers an instructive analogy for analysis of more complex literary forms: the simplicity of the ballad genre allows us to see more clearly that which is the case for all literary genres. Representations of witchcraft fitted comfortably within wider patterns. Reader expectations were influenced by material form, and by the common representational strategies that were utilised across subjects.

In all the various literary genres considered in Part one, witchcraft was not an isolated discourse but a thoroughly embedded one. Scholarly treatises on witchcraft were part of a wider programme of polemical publication aimed at social and religious reform. News pamphlets featuring witchcraft drew on the forms and representational strategies of the wider market for news, a market which influenced not only their form but currents and developments in the body of pamphlets as a whole. Drama too was influenced by wider literary trends, and the different ways in which witches were represented there is most comprehensively explained by acknowledging the influence of these wider movements. Similarly, recognising that ballads on witchcraft were part of a much larger form explains features of their representation of witchcraft and allows us a deeper sense of how they may have been read by contemporaries. Witchcraft is appearing as a less prominent subject than is often suggested, because it was more deeply submerged in wider discourses than has previously been recognised, in all its forms; it was encountered by readers in the context these wider discourses provided, and they would have fundamentally influenced readers’ reception of it.

⁴³ Ibid., 171.

Part 2: Production and dissemination

‘When faced with a given printed book’, writes Adrian Johns, ‘an important initial step for... readers was to appraise the probity of the people and places involved in its fashioning.’ Thus, ‘readers judged the printed books they met by what they knew of the people, places, and practices implicated in their production, distribution, and use.’¹ Part two turns from the internal construction and origins of works on witchcraft to consider the works from this perspective; that is, in their commercial context. The focus is widened to consider this body of printed works from the perspective of their printers, publishers and booksellers; those Stationers² who produced the works in their material form and from whom their readers obtained them. The contexts of the marketplace of print,³ it is argued, fundamentally influenced the reception of printed works.

2.1 presents the results of a study of the output of the printers, publishers and booksellers of works on witchcraft, alongside what little biographical information survives, in order to assess possible reasons why they might have printed, published or sold works on witchcraft, and what sort of people these Stationers may have been; that is, the sorts of bookstalls on which the works were likely to appear, and the sorts of names likely to appear in the imprints of witchcraft books. As Johns writes, in some cases, ‘The name of the Stationer on a book’s title page could tell a prospective reader as much about the contents as could that of the author.’⁴ Books were generally produced where Stationers lived, Johns’ argument goes, so assessment of the character of the Stationer and the propriety of his or her household could affect not only which books were bought but the purchaser’s reading of those books.⁵ Many of the reasons why a particular Stationer dealt with a particular work are purely the result of economic transactions, but they remain a useful avenue of study for what they tell us about where in the book trade and from whom these books were bought; factors which may have shaped subsequent readings of them. The ways in which the works were conceptualised by those responsible for their production and dissemination can tell us much about the ways in which they thought these concepts and representations fitted into their culture. This part also, in 2.2, considers the performance of the works in this context:

¹ *Nature of the Book*, 62, 188 and chapters 2 and 3, *passim*.

² Printers, booksellers and publishers (the latter referring to those who provided the capital for an edition) are collectively referred to as Stationers, i.e. members of the Company of Stationers, which all the printers and booksellers discussed here were at one point or another. I follow Johns’ usage; *Nature of the Book*, xix-xx.

³ A term coined by Alexandra Halasz; see *The Marketplace of Print – Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁴ *Nature of the Book*, 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 136-37 and chapter 2, *passim*.

through analysis of reprints and reissues, their success or otherwise as commercial entities is considered.

2.1 Printers, publishers and booksellers

Of all the Stationers who were involved in works on witchcraft,⁶ the most straightforward group to identify is those who were first and foremost sellers or printers of news; those whose publications were almost all of a topical nature. Many of the witchcraft news pamphlets were the productions of this kind of Stationer. In the earlier part of the period, the output of such Stationers would consist of short pamphlets, the subject matter of which included foreign political news; officially-sanctioned English proclamations; and pamphlets and ballads covering non-political domestic news, frequently of a sensational nature, i.e. reports of murders, comets, earthquakes, monstrous births – and witchcraft; the kind of works discussed in 1.2 and 1.4.

An early example is bookseller Thomas Nelson, who with William Wright published *Newes from Scotland* in 1592. In business from 1580-92, Nelson frequently dealt in ballads, according to McKerrow's researches in the Stationers' Company records,⁷ although the surviving works which bear his imprint consist mostly of news pamphlets. These include works we might place at the more sensational end of the spectrum, such as *A true and most Dreadfull discourse of a woman possessed with the Deuill* (1584) or *A fearefull example, shewed vpon a periured person Who on the 14, of this present moneth of May being condemned for periury, in the honourable Court of Starre Chamber: did there desperatly stabbe himselfe* (1591); but more representative are more sober titles covering political news, such as *Trve Nerves From one of Sir Fraunces Veres Companie* (1591), *Newes from Rome, Spaine, Palermo, Genuea and France* (1590), or *Trve Intelligence sent from a Gentleman of account. Concerning, The estate of the English forces now in Fraunce* (1591). Nelson published a large number of pamphlets relating to the wars in France.

There are two variant editions of *Newes from Scotland*, both of which name Wright as the publisher; a variant state of one of the editions names Nelson as publisher. In business from around 1579 until just after the turn of the century, Wright 'dealt largely in ballads, broadsides, news books and ephemeral literature';⁸ he sold a large number of topical

⁶ For the purposes of this study, only the Stationers involved in the works listed in Appendix 1 are considered.

⁷ McKerrow, 198.

⁸ Ibid., 303-4.

pamphlets. Wright worked with Nelson on two other known occasions, the first being on the abovementioned *Newes from Rome*, on which Nelson was the publisher and Wright only the bookseller. The other occasion, again only as bookseller to Nelson's publisher, was in 1592 on a pamphlet entitled *Good newes from Fraunce* – this 'news from...' title format being, it would appear, a popular one with these men. 1592 also saw *Newes out of France*, this time with Nelson not involved (or at least not named in the imprint), and two years later Wright published *Newes from the Leuane Seas*. The proximity of so many similarly-titled pamphlets amply demonstrates the aptness with which the witchcraft pamphlet would have fitted in amongst these other topical pamphlets. It is an example of how the literary similarity of the 'lexicon of news' discussed in 1.2 had its origins in material processes and commercial decisions. In such outputs as these, *Newes from Scotland* was a news pamphlet first and a witchcraft pamphlet second.

Another early example is Thomas Pavier. Pavier was apprentice to the bookseller William Barley, who had a high number of murder, prodigy and other news pamphlets in his corpus, including *A Most VVicked worke of a wretched Witch* (1592). Pavier carried on his business in much the same fashion as his master, as 'a publisher of ballads, news-books, jest books and much other interesting literature.'⁹ Pavier published many news pamphlets, foreign proclamations and other topical material; he also published plays, religious tracts, occasional ballads and various miscellaneous pieces (popular amongst which appears to have been *A Verie Perfect Discourse, and order howv to know the Age of a Horse*, first published in 1601 and reprinted many times). In business from 1600 to 1625, an early publication was a brief quarto entitled *A Strange Report of Sixe most notorious VVitches* (1601), printed by William White, who worked for Pavier on numerous occasions. Based on Pavier's known output it seems that while his focus was on news pamphlets early in his career, he moved to publishing almost exclusively religious tracts (with occasional plays) later on; the witchcraft pamphlet fits comfortably into this pattern, however, kin to the other topical pamphlets Pavier published. These include such titles as *Newes from Ostend of, The Oppugnation, and fierce siege made, by the Archeduke Albertus his forces* (1601), *The Coppy of a Letter and Commission, of the King of Spaine* (1602), and *A Short report of the honourable Iourney into Brabant, by his Excellencie Graue Mauris, Gouvernour and Lord Generall of the vinited Netherlandish Prouinces* (1602).

The later part of the period saw the burgeoning of a domestic news business. Despite what has sometimes been claimed, there was no actual ban on the reporting of domestic

⁹ Ibid., 211-12.

political news in early modern England, or at least there is no evidence of one.¹⁰ It was rather custom and propriety that influenced what was published: ‘printed publications of domestic news tended to be restricted to sensation, disasters, crimes and official publications, including proclamations and the monarch’s speeches.’¹¹ With the abolition of Star Chamber in 1641 fear amongst Stationers of publishing domestic news vanished and, coinciding with the arrival of the newsbook, which ‘took hold of the nation with a momentous significance’,¹² news became bigger business than ever before.¹³ A Parliamentary ordinance attempted to regulate the press in 1643 but it was not effective, and ‘The press remained relatively unrestricted for eight years.’¹⁴ The ‘war of words’ which raged during the 1640s was, according to Nigel Smith, ‘an information revolution.’¹⁵ It may be significant that one of the demonic familiars belonging to a witch uncovered by Matthew Hopkins in 1645 was named ‘Newes’.¹⁶

It has already been suggested in 1.2 that witchcraft pamphlets were one small part of this wider news trade, and were affected by its currents and trends; amongst which was the sudden surge in pamphlet numbers in the 1640s. Further evidence in support of this suggestion comes from a study of the Stationers who produced these works. A good example of a Stationer dealing with news pamphlets from the Civil War period is the printer John Hammond. Hammond dealt with the largest number of works on witchcraft of all the Stationers in the sample, and all in the space of two years: *A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a VVitch* in 1643, a crudely printed single sheet in quarto, intended as pro-Parliamentary propaganda; and three more pamphlets all from 1645 and all relating to the East Anglian trials; *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches At Chensford; Signes and wonders from heaven*;¹⁷ and *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene VVitches. That were tried, convicted, and condemned, at a Sessions holden at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolke*. None of these list a bookseller/publisher, as is indeed the case with the majority of Hammond’s surviving output. Some of his imprints read ‘printed for John Hammond’ (as opposed to ‘by’), implying that he was something of a publisher himself; presumably he printed and sold his own speculations. It is intriguing that Hammond printed three of the pamphlets connected

¹⁰ J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper – English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), xi-xii.

¹¹ Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 130.

¹² N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), 54.

¹³ See introduction in Raymond, *Invention*.

¹⁴ Raymond, *Pamphlets*, 154.

¹⁵ *Literature and Revolution*, 1.

¹⁶ M. Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches* (London: for Richard Royston, 1647), 2.

¹⁷ See Appendix 2.

to the Hopkins and Stearne trials; there can be little doubt that their production was connected (particularly given the very similar titles of two of them)

Hammond was in business for just a decade, as far as is known, from 1641 to 1651; during which time his press was regularly destroyed for being set up contrary to a decree of Star Chamber – at least seven times(!).¹⁸ He was clearly not a printer of high repute. Hammond's corpus consists almost solely of topical pamphlets, often explicitly pro-Parliamentarian, including such titles as: *A true description Of a treacherous plot Intended against this Kingdome, By the Lord Digby and his assistants, at Sherborne* (1642), *The Truest Intelligence from the Province of Munster* (1642), William Warren's *Strange, true, and lamentable Newes From Exceter... shewing how cruelly the resolute Cavaliers have dealt with the inhabitants since the departure of that Right Noble Commander the Earl of Stamford* (1643), and John Taylor's *Ranters of both Sexes* (1651). His output also includes a large number of Parliamentary speeches, a pamphlet about a ghost entitled *Fearefull Apparitions* (1647), and a newsbook, *The Kingdomes Weekly Post* (1643-44 and 1645). Michael Braddick sees in Hammond's output a concerted programme of providentialist publishing.¹⁹ His witchcraft pamphlets fit comfortably therein.

Given the dates he was in business, we may presume that Hammond went in to business primarily to capitalise on the increase of news publishing during the years of the Civil War and the Republic. Another Stationer who appears to have done so is George Horton. Horton was a prolific 'Publisher of political pamphlets and news-sheets'²⁰ in business from 1647 to 1660 according to Plomer, though I have found imprints as late as 1666.²¹ He seems to have begun his career in the latter stages of the civil strife, publishing at first material relating exclusively thereto. Jerome Friedman has described how Horton published 'several relatively nonpartisan newsbooks during the civil wars intended for the unsophisticated reader.'²² From around 1651 Horton turned to topical pamphlets on wider subjects, including a large number of execution speeches. Horton also published anti-sectarian material, including anti-Quaker literature, amongst which may be included *The Tryall And Examination Of Mrs. Joan Peterson* (1652), a pamphlet relating to the so-called Witch of Wapping (a Quaker accused of being a witch). Other such titles include *The Ranters Monster* (1652), George Hall's *The Black and Terrible VVarning Piece* (1653), and *The*

¹⁸ W. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 174, 201, 240, 243.

¹⁹ M. Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire – A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: Penguin, 2009), 433.

²⁰ Plomer, 101.

²¹ E.g. ESTC citation no. R206452.

²² Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press*, 5.

Quakers Dream: Or, The Devil's Pilgrimage in England (1655). The Witch of Wapping pamphlet clearly fits into this wider field of anti-Quaker publishing.

Horton's other contribution to the literature of witchcraft is the publication of *Doctor Lamb's Darling* in 1653; this was a plagiarised, cut-down version of Bower's *Doctor Lamb Revived*, about an alleged witch named Anne Bodenham who had been servant to the wizard John Lambe in the 1620s (about whom a ballad was also published, as discussed in 1.4). Clearly, even this far after the event, given the publicity surrounding his life and death (Lambe was murdered by a London mob in 1628), including Lambe's name on a title-page (and in both cases it is the dominant word) might be a savvy marketing ploy.²³ Once again, witchcraft pamphlets appear amongst the output of a Stationer clearly catering to a hunger for news; there seems little reason to draw a fundamental distinction between the witchcraft pamphlets and such titles as *A True Relation Of The great and terrible Inundation of Waters, and over-flowering of the Lower-Town of Deptford* (1651), *The Tryall Of Mr. Love Before The High-Court of Justice on Friday and Saturday last, in Westminster-hall: With the Charge of High-Treason exhibited against him* (1651), *Bloudy Nerves From Sea* (1652), or *A True Relation Of the great Plot Discovered Against his Highness the Lord Protector* (1654). As we saw in 1.2 there were great internal similarities, and such works shared producers as well.

Similar to the news pamphlet sellers/printers, but slightly more difficult to denominate, are those who may loosely be termed cheap pamphlet sellers; those who dealt with some works on current affairs, but also dealt with pamphlets and ballads on wider subjects. The general tenor of such outputs may be termed 'popular', in that the works are most often in small, cheap formats, and would not include large folio works of theology or law, for example (though no accompanying bifurcation of readership is implied on this evidence alone). Theological works are not absent (they are rarely absent from any Stationer's output during this period), but they are more likely to be shorter works in smaller formats; often cheap editions of sermons, for instance.

A good example is William Barley who, as mentioned above, was a popular pamphlet seller who dealt with a large number of topical pamphlets of all kinds, including *A Most VVicked worke of a wretched Witch*. Barley also published a large amount of wider pamphlet literature, with works by pamphleteers such as Nashe, Lodge, Peele and Dekker all featuring in his output. Barley was also the publisher of *A VVorld of vvonders* (discussed in 1.2), a collection of prodigy narratives that demonstrates well the consanguinity of reports of witchcraft with this wider genre of sensational reportage.

²³ See A. Bellany, 'The murder of John Lambe: crowd violence, court scandal and popular politics in early seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 200 (2008), 76.

A seventeenth-century Stationer who fits the criteria is William Gilbertson, a prolific ballad-seller in business from 1640 to 1665 according to Plomer,²⁴ although I have found a number of later imprints.²⁵ Gilbertson published numerous ballads, alongside news and sensation pamphlets, plays, and prognostications (including at least one by William Lilly, the most popular of all prognosticators during this period²⁶). He published a large number of the works of balladeer Laurence Price, although not the latter's witch chapbook. Gilbertson worked regularly with Thomas Vere, another dealer 'in ballads and broadsides',²⁷ with whom he shared the publication of *The most true and wonderfull Narration Of two women bewitched in Yorkshire* in 1658. The pamphlet is crudely printed, and in black letter – at this late date suggesting that it was aimed at a readership that, if not necessarily 'popular' in the demographic sense, was almost certainly a conservative and traditionalist one.²⁸ It lay on Gilbertson's bookstall alongside such works as: *The Late dreadful and most admired Calamity of a Parcel of Land and many great Oaks, and other Trees sunk many yards under ground* (1657); *The Horrible and Bloody Conspiracy* (1658); *The most sad and Lamentable Narration Of the Death of Michael Berkely* (1658); and *The Dreadful and most Prodigious Tempest At Markfield at Leicestershire* (1659).

Another example of how ballads appeared in the company of this wider pamphlet literature can be seen in the output of Thomas Lambert, a publisher of 'ballads, broadsides, and other ephemeral literature' in business for ten years from 1633.²⁹ Lambert's surviving corpus is made up primarily of ballads, especially those of prolific balladeer Martin Parker. Lambert also sold some works by Laurence Price. From his shop in Smithfield Lambert was the publisher of *Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull* in 1635, a new edition of an earlier witchcraft pamphlet, printed by Miles Flesher, who was probably the prime mover (see 2.2). Early modern readers would have come across the pamphlet alongside such ballads as *Murder upon Murder*, Parker's *A description of a strange (and miraculous) fish* or *A Lamentable List, of certaine Hidious, Frightfull, and Prodigious Signes, which have bin seene in the Aire, Earth, and Waters, at severall times for these 18. yeares last past, to this present* (1638)

²⁴ Plomer, 82.

²⁵ E.g. ESTC citation nos R179941, R216076.

²⁶ See Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, 363-69.

²⁷ Plomer, 186.

²⁸ Around 50% of the works that Gilbertson published or sold from the period 1650-60 are in black letter, so this particular work is not an anomaly (e.g. a possible result of shortage of other sorts of type). J. Barnard suggests that 'By the late seventeenth century roman type had mostly displaced black letter except in texts... aimed at a more 'popular' audience', 'Introduction' in J. Barnard & D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain – Volume IV 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4. But cf. Z. Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter' in M. Straznicky (ed.), *The Book of the Play – Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

²⁹ Plomer, 112.

Another seventeenth-century example is Richard Clutterbuck, a bookseller in business for fifteen years from 1633,³⁰ although we know of just five surviving imprints by him; two of which are works on witchcraft. They are Davenport's *The witches of Huntingdon* and Gaule's *Select Cases of Conscience*, both published in 1646. The other three known works to bear Clutterbuck's name are Robert Ashley's translation of Cristoforo Borri's *Cochin-China: Containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Country* (1633), *A True Relation of an Apparition in the likeness of a Bird with a white brest, that appeared hovering over the Death-Beds of some of the children of Mr. James Oxenham* (1641) and *A Declaration Published in the County of Devon By that Grand Ambo-dexter, Sir George Chudleigh Baronet, To delude his Country-men in their Iudgement and Affections* (1644). Topical pamphlets are foremost here, except that Gaule's work on witchcraft is a scholarly treatise. Interestingly, however, Gaule's tract relates to the East Anglian witch-hunt, as does Davenport's pamphlet; so it certainly had a topical interest, and it seems likely that the publication of the two works is connected. Gaule's work is advertised at the end of Davenport's pamphlet.³¹ More curiously, both works were printed by William Wilson, who went on to print John Stearne's *Confirmation and discovery of witchcraft* in 1648, for no named publisher; perhaps in fact it was Wilson who was the driving force behind all three? Or perhaps Wilson had learnt from Clutterbuck's intuition that works relating to the biggest witch-hunt England had ever known were likely to be popular. Either way, it is an interesting example of a scholarly treatise found in the context of topical works, almost always treated separately by modern writers on witchcraft.

A number of Stationers dealt in works on witchcraft because of a connection between Stationer and author. Such a connection may be the result of a shared ideological position; it may be the result merely of a business or even a social arrangement. Whether or not it is possible to determine this from the evidence remaining is another question, and a difficult one. However, the Stationer-author connection was an important one, as Johns has demonstrated; in particular it helped authors to retain some level of control over their work once it had left their hands.³²

This connection appears to explain the printing of the first edition of Scot's *Discoverie* by Henry Denham. Denham, who at one point held the patent for printing the Psalter, children's Primer and the Latin prayer book (which was a lucrative one),³³ was in business from 1560 to 1589 and printed a wide variety of material – sermons, theological tracts,

³⁰ Ibid., 47.

³¹ *The Witches of Huntingdon*, 15.

³² *Nature of the Book*, 158.

³³ McKerrow, 88-89.

practical manuals, classics, Continental works, dictionaries, a New Testament in Welsh. He worked with a variety of booksellers but seems to have printed his own speculations at times too. Possibly among these was Scot's only other solo printed work, *A Perfite platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (1574). Scot's *Discoverie* was printed by Denham for William Brome in 1584, although given the apparent author connection perhaps Denham was the prime mover. In addition, Patricia Brewerton notes that 'As an assignee of Henry Bynneman he [Denham] was able to print the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*' (1587),³⁴ to which Scot contributed; the only other time, possibly aside from a now lost anti-Puritan work,³⁵ that Scot is known to have been in print. It seems likely that Denham was a printer Scot had some relationship with; it is not possible to infer anything further about the connection, but it at least appears to explain why Denham was the printer of the *Discoverie*. Denham also printed a number of works by Abraham Fleming, who contributed many of the Latin verse translations in the *Discoverie* and who edited the 1587 Holinshed. The *Discoverie* is a lengthy and typographically complex work, and the first edition was beautifully printed; it needed a printer of Denham's expertise, but there appears to have been a more personal connection at work too. It was reasons beyond witchcraft that moderated the contexts in which it was encountered.

Another example is the relationship between George Gifford and the bookseller Toby Cooke. Of nineteen extant published works by Gifford, Cooke is known to have published fifteen; amongst which are *A Discourse of the subtill Practises of Deuilles* and *A Dialogue Concerning Witches*. Gifford and Cooke obviously had a relationship of some sort – it could well have been merely business, or practicality; Gifford did not live in London, and perhaps Cooke was his contact in the book trade there. Perhaps Cooke considered Gifford to be a bankable author – the latter's *Countrie Diuinitie* and *Sermon on the Parable of the Sower* (both first published in 1581) each went through several editions. It is equally possible, however, that Cooke sympathised with Gifford's theological position and that their relationship arose from this. McKerrow writes that Cooke 'dealt chiefly in theological literature',³⁶ and this is borne out by a look at his known corpus (in which Gifford, in fact, is by far the most frequently occurring name). Aside from theology Cooke is known to have sold a small miscellany of other works; a pamphlet concerning news of the wars in France, several practical manuals, two works of poetry, a military treatise translated out of French and a Latin work on rhetoric by classical scholar William Thorne. The rest of

³⁴ P. Brewerton, 'Denham, Henry (fl. 1556–1590)' in *DNB*.

³⁵ D. Wootton, 'Reginald Scot / Abraham Fleming / The Family of Love' in Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft*, 133 and 138 nn.64 and 65.

³⁶ McKerrow, 76.

Cooke's output consists of theological works, including translations of works by Augustine, Calvin, Bèze; works by Edward Hutchins; by William Massie; by John Chardon, Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland; two works by the 'aggressively protestant'³⁷ John Prime; a catechism by Thomas Sparke; and another catechism and two collections of sermons by the reformer William Burton. As one would expect of a bookseller sympathetic to Gifford's beliefs, the corpus leans slightly towards the hotter sort of Protestantism, but perhaps not far enough to suggest anything conclusive.

Another apparent author connection is behind the printing of Filmer's *Advertisement To The Jury-men Of England*, and this time we can observe a clear ideological sympathy. The *Advertisement* was published in 1653 (the year of Filmer's death) by Richard Royston, a bookseller in Ivy Lane. Royston had already published two works by Filmer, both in 1652; *Observations Concerning The Originall Of Government* and *Observations Upon Aristotles Politiques, Touching Forms of Government*. Both men were hard-line Royalists. Royston, 'bookseller to three kings' as his epitaph proudly states,³⁸ was 'one of a coterie of actively royalist booksellers' during the Republic.³⁹ In business for sixty years from 1627 to 1687, 'Royston was openly and officially involved in royalist propaganda in London while it was under Parliamentary control.'⁴⁰ He may even have changed his name to allude to his Royalist sympathies.⁴¹ Royston's output includes a great number of Royalist and conservative Anglican works, notably those of Jeremy Taylor and Henry Hammond. 'His greatest service to the royalist cause'⁴² was the publication in 1648 of Charles I's *Εἰχὼν Βασιλική*, or *Eikon Basilike*. As Potter writes, 'Royalists who visited his shop knew that they could count on a sympathetic reception and a stock of books with whose views they were sure to agree. Having this kind of reputation with a respectable clientele was probably worth a considerable amount of risk.'⁴³ Filmer was also a staunch Royalist. It is safe to assume that their ideological sympathies were the reason they worked together, and are the reason behind Royston's publication of Filmer's witchcraft tract. And being found amongst so many obviously Royalist works, at a bookshop with a reputation for supporting the Royalist cause, would surely have affected how readers perceived the work. The *Advertisement* was published anonymously, but it would have been obvious where the

³⁷ J. Lock, 'Prime, John (1549/50–1596)' in *DNB*.

³⁸ H. R. Tedder, 'Royston, Richard (1601–1686)' rev. W. P. Williams, in *DNB*.

³⁹ Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 300.

⁴⁰ L. Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing – Royalist literature, 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 213, n.1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12.

author's sympathies lay. Bostridge has argued that Filmer's attacks on Perkins were the result of a wider ideological assault; purchasing the work in such a context, its larger ideological programme would have been difficult to miss.⁴⁴

Interestingly, Royston was also the publisher, six years earlier, of Hopkins' *Discovery of Witches*. Might similar suggestions be made about the reception of this work? Hopkins, as far as we know, can fairly safely be labelled a Puritan,⁴⁵ but it is intriguing to wonder what readers would have made of finding the work in such a clearly Royalist context. This is particularly so because Hopkins' witch-hunt took place in East Anglia, widely seen as a bastion of the godly and the Parliamentary cause. Certainly the trials themselves were pounced on by Royalist propagandists, although Parliamentarians were not averse to making use of the same events for their own purposes.⁴⁶ Witch-finding was, however, strongly associated with the Puritan cause. That such an important justification of it came from a Royalist publisher may be a sign, of course, that even the most ideologically grounded Stationers published works of pure commercial interest; but its context is certainly something that should be borne in mind when studying the reception of this work.

The author connection seems to explain the printing of Perkins' *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* at Cambridge. Perkins graduated MA from Cambridge in 1584 and was connected with the University throughout his life.⁴⁷ His *Discourse* was published posthumously in 1608; it was edited by Thomas Pickering (himself a Cambridge man⁴⁸), and printed by Cantrell Legge, successor to John Legate as printer to Cambridge University. Perkins' works were printed consistently by both Cambridge printers; David McKitterick writes that 'for about thirty years from the early 1590s, the press's energies were largely devoted to printing the bestselling sermons of the Puritan William Perkins, or commentaries on the Bible by Andrew Willet.'⁴⁹ McKitterick has written elsewhere that Perkins was 'the Cambridge press's best known author', possessed of 'phenomenal

⁴⁴ Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations*, 19-21.

⁴⁵ See J. Stearne, *A Confirmation And Discovery of Witchcraft* (London: William Wilson, 1648), 61.

⁴⁶ Gaskill, *Witchfinders*, 147; see also 144 and 147-50, and J. Raymond (ed.), *Making the News – An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), 153, for an example of Parliamentary spin on the events.

⁴⁷ M. Jenkins, 'Perkins, William (1558-1602)' in *DNB*.

⁴⁸ J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), III, 360. The Thomas Pickering in question is presumably the man listed here as editor of Perkins' *Case of Conscience* (also printed by Legge, in 1606).

⁴⁹ D. McKitterick, 'University printing at Oxford and Cambridge' in Barnard & McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain – Volume IV*, 194.

popularity'.⁵⁰ Perkins was 'Legate's principal author, his best-seller',⁵¹ and the pre-eminent position of Perkins in the Cambridge press's output was upheld by Legge. In fact, as McKitterick writes, Legge's 'involvement with the printing of Perkins, Taylor and Willet... was for years the principal support of his business. Much of it was carried over from Legate, or grew from Legate's earlier nourishing'.⁵² The *Discourse* was reprinted by Legge in 1610; thereafter (from 1609) it was included in the collected editions of Perkins' works printed by Legate in London and Legge in Cambridge (and which Legate's son and namesake continued to reprint throughout the decades leading up to the Civil War).⁵³ As McKitterick writes, 'Perkins' works, including those he left in manuscript at his death, were quickly recognized as valuable properties'.⁵⁴ The *Discourse* was clearly published as one such valuable property; a reminder that the ideological programme outlined in 1.1 was grounded in the material circumstances of publication.

The author connection, albeit in a slightly different fashion, also explains Robert Waldegrave's involvement with a work on witchcraft. Waldegrave became printer to James VI of Scotland in 1590 after fleeing north of the border to escape recriminations for his role as first and longest-serving of the Marprelate printers. It seems his talents were obvious, and he was welcomed by both king and Kirk; 'The bulk of Waldegrave's work in the 1590s was for these two clients: Scots Presbyterians (chiefly ministers) and the King'.⁵⁵ When James acceded to the throne of England Waldegrave followed him south; he died, however, only a few months later. Before his death he managed to return to the English book trade, putting his name to three English imprints, amongst which was one of the London editions (see 2.2) of James' *Daemonologie*. Waldegrave had printed the first edition of the King's witchcraft treatise at Edinburgh in 1597, and it was one of two works by James reissued in London by Waldegrave upon James' accession to the English throne (the other being *The True Lawe Of Free Monarchies*). The imprint states that it was printed for Waldegrave by Arnold Hatfield; perhaps in his dying months he was unable to work the press himself, or simply had not had time to set one up, and turned to publishing.⁵⁶ Waldegrave had printed all of James' works from his becoming King's printer until this

⁵⁰ D. McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press – Volume 1 – Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 125, 127.

⁵¹ M. H. Black, *Cambridge University Press – 1584-1984* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 55.

⁵² McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, 139.

⁵³ See *STC* 19647-54.

⁵⁴ *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, 128.

⁵⁵ K. S. Van Erde, 'Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link Between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34, 1 (1981), 62.

⁵⁶ According to *STC*, *The True Lawe Of Free Monarchies* was printed by Thomas Creede; see *STC* 14411.

point, and this connection is clearly behind Waldegrave's London edition of the *Daemonologie*.

Religious reasons for a Stationer dealing with a particular work are clearly visible in the various books printed by Quakers or their associates in the 1650s. Such a one is Giles Calvert, a well-known yet enigmatic publisher and bookseller, operating at the sign of the black spread-eagle in Paul's Churchyard from 1639 until his death in 1664. He was a highly prolific publisher to various sectaries, most prominently the Quakers; his shop 'was the leading outlet for the works of early Quakers'.⁵⁷ As Ian Green and Kate Peters write, 'between 1652 and 1656, over half of their [the Quakers'] books were produced quite openly by the publisher, Giles Calvert, already notorious for publishing works by Levellers, Diggers and Familists'.⁵⁸ Ariel Hessayon states that, at his death, Calvert 'had issued or sold either individually or in partnership 475 known different publications, of which about 200 were by Quaker authors'.⁵⁹ Calvert was the publisher of Farnworth's *Witchcraft Cast out* in 1655. Around 60% of Farnworth's surviving output before 1660 (after which his works were published anonymously) is known to have been published by Calvert; as well as the witchcraft tract Calvert published ten other works by Farnworth in 1655 alone. However there is no evidence that Calvert was a Quaker himself; whether or not he followed the beliefs himself though, he was 'clearly sympathetic to their cause',⁶⁰ and it is evidently this sympathy which lies behind his publication of their works.

Calvert's sister Martha was definitely a Quaker; 'one of the earliest convinced Quakers in London'⁶¹ in fact, and she wrote several pamphlets herself, 'three of which were published by her brother Giles'.⁶² (She was herself, incidentally, accused of witchcraft, as were many Quakers.) In 1655 she married Thomas Simmonds who succeeded Calvert as principal publisher to the Quaker movement.⁶³ Simmonds was a very frequent publisher of the works of Quaker authors George Fox and Edward Burrough. He appears here because he was the publisher of *A Lying VVonder Discovered, and The Strange and Terrible Newes from Cambridge proved false* (1659); this was a rejoinder to *Strange & Terrible Nevves From Cambridge* (also published in 1659), a piece of anti-Quaker propaganda which related the story of a

⁵⁷ M. Bell, 'Simmonds, Martha (bap. 1624, d.1665)' in DNB.

⁵⁸ I. Green & K. Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England 1640-1695' in Barnard & McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain – Volume IV*, 74.

⁵⁹ A. Hessayon, 'Calvert, Giles (bap. 1612, d.1663)' in DNB.

⁶⁰ Green & Peters, 'Religious publishing' in Barnard & McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain – Volume IV*, 74.

⁶¹ R. L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982), III, 175.

⁶² Bell, 'Simmonds, Martha' in DNB.

⁶³ Ibid.

woman allegedly turned into a horse by the witchcraft of a group of Quakers, and to a now lost pamphlet by John Bunyan which accredited the tale.⁶⁴ Both this pamphlet and Farnworth's tract clearly fit into wider patterns of Quaker publishing.

Then there are those Stationers who do not easily fit into any clear category of motivation. In these cases, it may be because the witchcraft work seems incongruous amongst the Stationer in question's output – in which case, paradoxically, there may indeed have been a special reason for them dealing with it – or it may be because the output of the Stationer in question is simply too varied to easily categorise.

An example of the former are the two witchcraft books printed by William Stansby. Stansby is well known as printer of Jonson; he was 'a man of considerable position in the trade',⁶⁵ and, according to Mark Bland, Stansby's 'establishment was probably the second largest press in London after the royal printing house... Stansby usually produced work of a better quality than most of the trade.'⁶⁶ He was the printer of Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie* in 1613 for John Barnes, and in the same year the anonymous *Witches apprehended, examined and executed* for Edward Marchant – at least, it is conjectured by the *STC* that Stansby was the printer of the latter; he is not named in the imprint.⁶⁷ Stansby worked with Marchant on only one other occasion that is known, on another news pamphlet, also in 1613;⁶⁸ he also worked on only one other known occasion with Barnes, in 1615 on Sir Dudley Digges' *The Defence Of Trade*. Sensational works are very rare in Stansby's corpus and the witch pamphlets stand out from this point of view; although there are a few more general news pamphlets, especially after 1620. *Witches apprehended* is poorly printed and in black letter, and in the absence of an examination of the evidence, I would question the attribution of it to Stansby. Whilst by far the majority of Stansby's productions were in roman, black letter works were not unknown, and include in the same year a scholarly treatise.⁶⁹

Potts' pamphlet, on the other hand, is elegantly printed and in roman type; it includes a dedication, in the manner of a less ephemeral work, and all the signs indicate that this is the sort of work it was intended to appear to be; that is, not a sensational piece to be

⁶⁴ R. L. Greaves, 'Bunyan, John (bap. 1628, d.1688),' in *DNB*.

⁶⁵ McKerrow, 256.

⁶⁶ M. Bland, 'Stansby, William (bap. 1572, d.1638)' in *DNB*.

⁶⁷ *STC* 25872. To complicate matters, it was John Trundle, not Marchant, who registered the pamphlet. Perhaps Trundle, a dealer in 'ballads, news-books, plays and ephemeral literature' was in fact the capitalist behind the work. See McKerrow, 269, and Arber, III.514 for the entry. I have not found any other occasions on which Stansby worked with Trundle, though he could have been a regular silent partner.

⁶⁸ *The seuerall Notorious and lewd Cousnages of Iohn VVest, and Alice VVest, falsely called the King and Queene of Fayries* (1613). This pamphlet is also in black letter, and also only conjectured by *STC* to have been printed by Stansby; see *STC* 25261.5.

⁶⁹ Thomas Blundeville's *M. Blundeville His Exercises* (1613).

recycled next day in the privy, but a work aimed at the more learned reader. It is the only witchcraft pamphlet to include an errata list, surely a further sign that it was intended to be more than a piece of ephemeral news. The pamphlet – ‘the most detailed account we have of an early modern English witch trial’⁷⁰ – was commissioned by the assize judges at the Lancashire trials, James Altham and Edward Bromley. It is not inconceivable that they took it to a printer or publisher they considered to be prestigious; either Stansby, clearly a man of reputation, or Barnes. Barnes owned the copyright,⁷¹ so perhaps it was he who was entrusted with the work. Barnes was a bookseller and publisher in business from 1600 to 1621, who almost exclusively sold theological tracts. He dealt with two more works on witchcraft in 1619, the pamphlet and ballad relating to the Belvoir witches. The witchcraft books do seem out of place in Stansby’s output, if we are to situate the pamphlets at the ephemeral end of the market. In the case of Potts’ pamphlet at least, perhaps its very incongruousness can tell us something about its intended audience; Stansby was chosen precisely because he was a producer of less sensationalist work. This does not seem likely in the case of *Witches apprehended*, however, so perhaps here the incongruousness should incite us either to question its attribution to Stansby, our assessment of his output, or perhaps the strict divisions between ephemeral and less ephemeral works.

Another example is Thomas Man (senior), a bookseller in Paternoster Row from 1576 to 1626. As McKerrow writes, Man ‘dealt almost wholly in theological books, and rapidly rose to be one of the largest capitalists in the trade, and at the same time one of the most important men in the Company of Stationers, of which he was elected Master in 1604, 1610, 1614 and 1616.’⁷² Green writes that ‘recent analysis shows that Thomas Man owned or had a share in [at least] 135 titles, the great majority of which were doctrinal or edifying’,⁷³ and James Raven that Man ‘dealt in theological books, accumulating some of the most valuable copyrights of the period and acquiring a large house and lands in Hammersmith.’⁷⁴ The observation that Man published almost entirely theological works is borne out by my own research, though one finds an occasional topical pamphlet in evidence as well. These include the *Witches of Warboys* pamphlet in 1593, which Man co-published with John Winnington. It lay on Man’s bookstall alongside works by Phillip Stubbes, Henry Smith, Andrew Willet and John Udall, and Holland’s *Spirituell Preseruatiues*

⁷⁰ M. Gibson, ‘Applying the Act of 1604 – Witches in Essex, Northamptonshire and Lancashire before and after 1604’ in Bath & Newton (eds), *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, 116.

⁷¹ Arber, III.501.

⁷² McKerrow, 184.

⁷³ *Print and Protestantism*, 16.

⁷⁴ J. Raven, *The Business of Books – Booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), 40-41.

against the pestilence. While the appearance of cheap topical pamphlets in a corpus of predominantly large theological treatises may be due to purely commercial reasons – the former were a lucrative sideline, easy to run off in between larger jobs⁷⁵ – this may be another case in which the wider corpus can tell us something about the witchcraft work itself. It is clear that its author(s) saw its purpose as a religiously didactic one in many respects; perhaps, like Potts' pamphlet, a higher destiny than simple topicality was sought for the work.⁷⁶ This is not to suggest that topical pamphlets did not have appeal across the board – such cases seem to support the suggestion that they did – more that one would expect such differing material to be produced and distributed in different ways. These examples us show us that this was not always the case.

There are many examples of Stationers whose output is simply too varied to assign any sort of category to. In the case of printers, most of them can fairly safely be termed 'trade printers', and it is likely their motivation for printing the books they did was purely commercial. McKerrow defines a trade printer as one who 'printed mainly or entirely for others' – i.e. for predominantly commercial reasons and with less say in the choice and editing of works – in a piece on Edward Allde, who was printer of two witchcraft news pamphlets.⁷⁷ They were *Newes from Scotland* for William Wright and Thomas Nelson, and in 1589 *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches*, an early publication which McKerrow holds to be one of the small number of works Allde printed as his own speculation,⁷⁸ but which was entered to Thomas Law, who may therefore have been a silent publisher.⁷⁹ Allde's career demonstrates well the role of trade printer. Exactly what proportion of printers worked for ideological reasons is not clear, but one who is almost certainly a trade printer can usually be recognised by a corpus which includes work for a wide variety of publishers, and works of such widely differing natures that no preference for a particular sort of work can be discerned. Allde was involved in the production of over 700 items during a career spanning over forty years,⁸⁰ and worked for a large number of publishers and booksellers. The books he worked on include official publications, plays, poetry, topical pamphlets, almanacs, practical manuals, cookery books, sermons and more. Allde was also the printer of another work featuring witchcraft, the prose romance *The Famous & renowned History of Morindos* for Henry Rockett in 1609. McKerrow writes that

⁷⁵ As Elizabeth Evenden writes, 'the smaller texts brought money, the large ones prestige.' *Patents, Pictures and Patronage – John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 20.

⁷⁶ See Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft*, chapter 4.

⁷⁷ R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, 10, 2 (1929), 121.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷⁹ Arber, II.525. I have not found any other known instances of Allde working with Law.

⁸⁰ I. Gadd, 'Allde, Edward (1555x63–1627)' in *DNB*.

Alde was ‘just a typical commercial man with no pretensions to be anything else’;⁸¹ a characteristic trade printer. There is little to be learned from such cases, as a clear example would usually rule out any other motivation behind the publication of a given work. They do, however, support the sense of witchcraft as submerged within contexts that were complex and within which it was given no special prominence.

Another example is John Danter, one of the printers of the *Warboys* pamphlet for Thomas Man and John Winnington in 1593. Danter was in business for a decade from 1589, and his name survives in just under 70 imprints, mostly short works, including sermons, plays, poetry, news pamphlets, treatises on blood-letting and on remedies for the plague, pamphlets by Greene, Nashe, Chettle and Lodge; a varied output, and typical of a jobbing printer working at the cheaper end of the market.⁸² He may, like Alde, have printed an occasional work which was his own speculation – including the lost ballad on the Warboys witches mentioned in 1.4 – but in the vast majority of cases he appears to have worked as a trade printer.

An example from the latter end of the period is Thomas Harper, who was the printer of two works on witchcraft: Brome and Heywood’s *The late Lancashire VVitches* for Benjamin Fisher in 1634 and probably Mary Moore’s *Wonderfull Newes From The North* for Richard Harper in 1650, who may have been a relation.⁸³ Richard Harper was a Smithfield bookseller who ‘Dealt chiefly in ballads, broadsides, political tracts and sermons’;⁸⁴ Thomas had worked for Richard on a number of occasions, on a variety of types of work. Thomas was in business for a long time (1614 to 1656 according to Plomer⁸⁵) and his output includes both substantial theological works and Latin works, as well as topical pamphlets, plays and poetry. He did in fact publish several works on his own account, but in general he worked for others, and when he did so he can be called a typical trade printer.

Where there are publishers with outputs too varied to assign a category to, things are less certain, although one would have to guess that commerce was once again the driving force. An example is Richard Redmer, a bookseller/publisher in Paul’s Churchyard in business from 1610 to 1632. Redmer’s small surviving output consists of a wide mix of material; Latin treatises, classics, plays, sermons, poetry, practical manuals and occasional topical works, including *The Life And Death of Lewis Gaufredy*, printed by Thomas Creede. It

⁸¹ ‘Edward Alde as a Typical Trade Printer’, 123.

⁸² McKerrow notes that ‘In 1597 Danter printed the first (pirated) quarto of Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. Like all his work, it was very badly printed.’ McKerrow, 83-84.

⁸³ See Appendix 2.

⁸⁴ Plomer, 90.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

seems to have been assumed that it would be a popular story; as mentioned in 1.4, George Elde registered a ballad on the subject in the same year, now lost. We know that Redmer also dealt in second-hand books, a fact which might explain the scarcity of titles bearing his imprint.⁸⁶ Although they may not tell us anything positive about its reception, these miscellaneous outputs do however affirm that witchcraft had no particular prominence in the book trade; that it did not warrant special notice or treatment. One again witchcraft is found in contexts that are highly varied.

The argument that witchcraft news pamphlets were part of a wider genre of cheap topical publishing is strongly supported by these analyses. The ideological and typographical correlations discussed in 1.2 have their roots in material processes and relationships, and it is important to understand the latter in order to understand the former. There were also, however, Stationers who did not specialise, and in several of these cases differences between works within this wider genre of topical publishing can be shown in relief when they are compared with the works produced alongside them. As we would expect, theological treatises often appear amongst other theological tracts, though they could also be found amongst those whose general specialisation was cheap, often topical works. It is possible that this is a result of the fact that, as demonstrated in 1.1, they were strongly polemical works rather than dispassionate scholarship. Whatever the case, that topical works were not always separate from scholarly works in the marketplace has possible implications for the reception of both sorts of work. In many cases there are links between the authors of the works and their Stationers, perhaps suggesting both the involvement of authors in the production of their works as well as the involvement of Stationers in ideological programmes. Overall this study has demonstrated the variety of contexts in which witchcraft writing would have been encountered by contemporaries. Such variety (and unreliability) of context may in itself have affected readings of the works. Witchcraft had no special prominence within these contexts.

⁸⁶ Raven, *The Business of Books*, 52.

2.2 Reprints and reissues

Of the sixty-eight works under primary consideration, only the treatises of Scot, Gifford, Perkins, Cotta and Bernard saw a second edition during the period. The pamphlet *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* was also reprinted, and we may also include James' *Daemonologie* in this list, as the London edition was a second edition. This chapter will briefly consider the reasons behind these reprints, working on the assumption that a reprint indicates a measure of commercial success. Whether or not works were reprinted and why offers insights into the impact these works made in the marketplace of print.

Given the abuse he had received in print, by no less a figure than the king, among others (see 3.3), it is little surprise that no second edition of Scot's *Discoverie* was immediately forthcoming. In Scot's lifetime his treatise on the cultivation of hops sold better.¹ The *Discoverie* was, however, reprinted in 1651, nearly seventy years after the first edition. It may simply have been a wish to capitalise on the renewed interest in the witchcraft debate that followed the East Anglian witch-hunt of the 1640s that lay behind this edition. It may also have been the possibility that Scot's work was of use for its detailed information on practical magic (see 3.4) – certainly the early 1650s saw the publication of magical textbooks in unprecedented numbers in England.² Intriguingly, however, it was the radical publisher Giles Calvert who was at least the bookseller if not also the publisher of this edition. We saw in 2.1 how Calvert was the foremost Quaker publisher in the early 1650s; Calvert also published works by many other sectarians and radicals, including Joseph Caryl, William Walwyn, Gerrard Winstanley, Abiezer Coppe, Richard Overton, John Lilburne, Hendrik Niclaes and Jakob Boehme. Johns calls Calvert 'the notorious radical bookseller', 'the supreme radical bookseller', and writes that 'radical writers in the Interregnum could count on a sympathetic reception at Giles Calvert's'.³ It was through Calvert, it seems, that Laurence Clarkson was introduced to a sect known as 'My one flesh'.⁴ Perhaps Calvert was chosen as bookseller (or chose to publish the work) because of Scot's hints of a radical spiritual theology, echoed by many of the radical writers Calvert was publishing at this time. It has been tentatively suggested that Scot was a member of the

¹ R. Scot, *A Perfite platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (London: Henry Denham, 1574), reprinted in 1576 and 1578.

² See Davies, *Popular Magic*, 121-24; L. Kassell, "'All Was This Land Full Fill'd of Faerie," or Magic and the past in Early Modern England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67, 1 (2006), 110.

³ *Nature of the Book*, 271, 274, 124.

⁴ L. Clarkson, *The Lost Sheep Found* (London: for the author, 1660), 24-25.

Family of Love;⁵ the evidence is inconclusive, but whether Scot was a Familist or not, his work may have found an audience among religious radicals. The *Discoverie* was translated and reprinted in Leiden in 1607 (see below) – by a Familist. At exactly the time he was selling the second edition of Scot's work, Calvert was republishing a series of important Familist works. It is not possible to be certain which of these motives lay behind the second edition of Scot's treatise, but it certainly seems likely that contemporaries may have been interested in the work for more than just its attacks on witchcraft belief.⁶ And this is surely an example in which the Stationer associated with the work may have influenced its reception: as Johns writes, 'If the Stationer were an agitator like Henry Hills, Giles Calvert, or John Streater, then a reader's attitude to the work might be prefigured accordingly.'⁷ Perhaps Scot's location in Calvert's bookshop attracted a new type of reader; it may well have put others off. It surely affected how the work was read; no doubt the work's radical nature would have been foremost in readers' minds. Once again, a work on witchcraft turns out to be engaging with a wide range of other discourses.

Scot's work was the only witchcraft treatise to see a third edition, just outside the period under consideration, in 1665. This time it seems that the magical content was definitely a major factor: sections were added to the work by an anonymous author which claimed to expand Scot's work, but which were utterly in opposition to its spirit – they were not sceptical at all but simply gave further information on magical operations and the spirit world.⁸ This edition was a folio, and thus Scot also receives the distinction of being the only work on witchcraft from the period to be printed in folio (not counting the folio editions of James' and Perkins' collected works). It is not impossible that this was intended to enhance the visual appearance of the work as a learned grimoire.⁹

Through an analysis of the Stationers involved we can learn more about the reasons behind the second edition of Gifford's *Dialogue Concerning Witches* in 1603. The first edition saw no immediate reprint, unlike Gifford's *Countrie Diuinitie*, his *Sermon on the Parable of the Sower*, his *Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant* or his *Sermon vpon the second chapter of Saint Iames*, which were all more or less immediately reprinted. As discussed in 2.1, the majority of Gifford's works were published by the bookseller Toby Cooke. In 1598 Cooke assigned

⁵ Wootton, 'Reginald Scot / Abraham Fleming / The Family of Love', in Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft*.

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of these issues see S. F. Davies, 'The reception of Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*: witchcraft, magic and radical religion', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (forthcoming).

⁷ *Nature of the Book*, 147.

⁸ Nine chapters were added to book 15 and a second book of seven chapters was added to Scot's 'Discourse Upon Devils and Spirits'; R. Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London: for Andrew Clark to be sold by Dixy Page, 1665), 215ff., 39ff. (second pagination).

⁹ See Davies, 'The reception of Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*'.

‘most of’ his copyrights – all of them works by Gifford – to Richard Field and Felix Kingston;¹⁰ hence it was they who printed the second edition of the *Dialogue*. But why? The *Dialogue* was one of ten works by Gifford transferred to Field and Kingston, along with one other entered to them but with a share retained by Thomas Man. Of the eleven works, only four, including the *Dialogue*, were reprinted by Field and Kingston.¹¹ Of these four, all save the *Dialogue* were reprinted straight away, either in 1598 or 1599; the *Dialogue* was not reprinted until 1603. So while it was considered a work worth reprinting, unlike some of the others, it was not considered as likely a prospect as the three works which Field and Kingston reprinted immediately on coming into possession of the rights. It seems reasonable to speculate that the witchcraft treatise was considered a more likely prospect in 1603 because of the published interest in witchcraft held by the King who had just acceded to the English throne.

Both Field and Kingston were successful Stationers. Field, ‘one of the leading stationers in London’,¹² was in business from 1587 to 1624, and was Master of the Stationers’ Company in 1619 and 1622. He was one of the printers of the *Witches of Warboys* pamphlet in 1593 for Thomas Man (with whom Field worked on numerous occasions) and John Winington. Felix Kingston began his career only slightly later (in 1596) but outlived Field by over a quarter of a century; as Plomer writes, ‘At the time of his death [in 1651] he must have been one of the oldest printers in London.’¹³ Kingston too was Master of the Company, 1635-36. His output was varied but in general consisted of theological works. Given his longevity it is little surprise that Kingston was involved with other works on witchcraft: he printed the English translation of Sébastien Michaelis’ *The Admirable History Of The Possession And Conuersion of a Penitent woman. Seduced By A Magician That Made her to become a Witch* for William Aspley in 1613 and both editions of Bernard’s *Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men* for Edward Blackmore. Kingston seems to have been a trade printer foremost, but he did print some of his own speculations; amongst which must be the 1603 edition of Gifford’s *Dialogue*, given that he and Field owned the rights to it. Both Field and Kingston therefore, knew their business. And they seem to have thought that out of a number of works by Gifford, his witchcraft dialogue was the one that would sell – though only

¹⁰ McKerrow, 76; Arber, III.114.

¹¹ The others were: *Countrie Diuinitie* (reprinted by Field and Kingston in 1598 and 1612); *A dialogue bewteene a papist and Protestant* (reprinted by Field and Kingston in 1599); and *Sermons vpon the whole booke of the Renelation* (reprinted by Field and Kingston in 1599).

¹² D. Kathman, ‘Field, Richard (bap. 1561, d.1624)’ in DNB.

¹³ Plomer, 109-10.

because, presumably, of an interest in witchcraft ignited by James' accession to the English throne, and not as much as some of Gifford's other, more highly-regarded works.

Concerning James' own treatise, we have seen how it was one of only two of James' works that Robert Waldegrave chose to republish on his return to London at James' accession. We should not read too much into this, however; other works by James were reprinted in 1603 by other Stationers; there appears to have been a rush. Indeed, the *Daemonologie* was simultaneously republished, in an edition based on Waldegrave's Edinburgh edition, by Williams Aspley and Cotton (though only Waldegrave's edition had the royal arms on the verso of the title-page). Both editions were presumably produced in haste, given that both reproduce the textual errors of the first edition.¹⁴ The only Register entry for the *Daemonologie* is in April 1603, to Eliazar Edgar, 'As yt was printed by Robert Walgrauce'¹⁵ (who was still alive at this point). Edgar was still in possession of the copyright in 1613, for in that year that he assigned it to John Hodgettes;¹⁶ so Edgar must somehow have been involved in the 1603 publications. Clearly with so many Stationers willing to republish it – and Waldegrave's choosing to republish it out of several other works he might have chosen – the work was predicted to be a popular one; but then it was written by the new king, after all.

The assignment of the copyright in the *Daemonologie* to Hodgettes is interesting, in that he did *not* choose to publish a new edition of it. One would have thought a work with a royal author would have been popular enough to warrant further editions. It is conceivable, however, that Hodgettes was put off the idea of a new edition by the fact that in 1616 James' works were published in a collected edition, with a second edition arriving in 1620.

A similar case is that of Perkins' *Discourse*. The second edition in 1610, two years after the first, is straightforward enough; a straight-up reprint with no changes, this seems a clear instance of demand for the work warranting a new edition. Perkins was an author of high popularity, as we have seen (although the *Discourse* was nowhere near as popular as most of Perkins' other works). However, this was the last individual edition of the *Discourse*; from 1609 it had been included in the volumes of Perkins' collected works. In 1629 'Perkins on *Witchcraft*' was entered to the bookseller James Boler, 'by consent of widow Legge' (the widow of Cantrell Legge, the printer of the first two editions of Perkins' *Discourse*), one of

¹⁴ See R. Dunlap, 'King James and Some Witches: The Date and Text of the *Daemonologie*', *Philological Quarterly*, 54, 1 (1945), 44-45.

¹⁵ Arber, III.231.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III.520-21.

three of Perkins' works transferred, alongside a number of other theological works¹⁷ – but Boler never printed an edition of it. Perhaps significantly though, he did not reprint the other works by Perkins assigned to him in this transaction either.¹⁸ There had been editions of Perkins' collected works (including the *Discourse*) in 1609, 1616-18 and 1626, and there was to be another edition in 1631 (with which Boler was involved). With both Boler and Hodgettes, if it was indeed the case that new editions of the witchcraft treatises of Perkins and James individually were curtailed by editions of the works in collection format, it is interesting for what it says about the types of reader these Stationers imagined that these works would receive. It was not a wide audience that could afford the weighty tomes of these authors' collected works; as Green writes, Perkins' *Works* had 'by most standards... limited sales', possibly because 'there were only a limited number of senior clergy and interested laity able to afford both the text and the added costs of binding and storing such volumes.'¹⁹ Perhaps neither Stationer thought a smaller, individual edition was worthwhile. The implication is that they thought the appeal of the works was limited; perhaps because restricted to a wealthy and scholarly audience; or, more likely, that the appeal of the polemic had faded.

In 1654 Thomas Nichols published an abridgement of Perkins' works; the brief sections taken from the *Discourse* are an interesting indication of the passages thought to be most important, by this reader at least. Just over six pages are included on magic (with no mention of witchcraft), under the section on the second Commandment (affirming the connection of witchcraft with idolatry seen in 1.1). After stress on the diabolic contract, the author outlines Perkins' two types of magic, divining and working (under the latter is included both harmful and helpful magic), before concluding with a paragraph explaining that 'Those that do consult with Magicians do also worship the Devil'.²⁰ This seems to underline that it was Perkins' attack on white witches and wider magical practices that were considered the most important aspects of his treatise, a broader reading of the work than it usually gets from historians.

The bibliographical history of Cotta's *Triall Of Witch-craft* is complex, but one thing is clear: Cotta was not happy with the first edition (1616), and revised it for a new edition in 1624, printed and published by different Stationers. The title was changed to *The Infallible*

¹⁷ Ibid., IV.212.

¹⁸ The other works were *A Godly And Learned Exposition of Christs Sermon in the Mount* (first published 1608) and *Christian Oeconomie* (first published 1609); Arber, IV.212.

¹⁹ *Print and Protestantism*, 567.

²⁰ T. Nichols, *An Abridgement Of the whole Body of Divinity, Extracted from the Learned works of that ever-famous, and reverend Divine Mr. William Perkins* (London: W. B. for William Hope, 1654), 54-61, quotation at 60-61.

True And Assured VVitch. Cotta writes that the new edition was ‘reuiewed, augmented, and cleared from some part of that darknesse which haply hath hitherto clouded it from bright acceptance.’²¹ The printer of the second edition, John Legate, added his own preface, in which he wrote:

The Author perceiuing his former Tractate or first edition thereof, either not diligently read, or not truly by many men vnderstood, he hath now by a second edition thereof offered more ease and light vnto such as are willing to search after the truth, both by the addition of many things before omitted, as also by this plaine direction [i.e. a table of contents] vnto all the most speciall points in the whole Treatise[.]²²

These comments seem to suggest that in this case the new edition came not as a result of demand but the opposite; Cotta was unhappy with the reception of the first edition and so had a revised edition printed to make up for it. As well as the table of contents, Cotta added new material, extending certain points of discussion and adding new references and examples.²³ The second edition does not seem to have been a great success either, however; unsold sheets were reissued with a new date in 1625.

The final treatise to see a second edition was Bernard’s *Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men* (1627), reprinted in 1629. This seems to be a straightforward case of the same Stationers reprinting the work due to the first edition having sold out, although as with the second edition of Cotta the reprint was not a huge success; once again unsold sheets of the second edition were reissued with a new date the following year. Set amongst Bernard’s overall output, the *Gvide* was not the least successful of his works, but it was vastly outsold by his *Isle of Man*, first published in 1626, which saw eight further editions in Bernard’s lifetimes and more beyond. *The Faithfull Shepherd* and *A Weekes Worke* both also sold better than the *Gvide*, as did Bernard’s catechisms. Practical divinity did sell, but its application to witchcraft performed less well than most.

Just three works are known to have been translated and published abroad during the period: the treatises of Scot, James and Perkins. Scot’s treatise was abridged, translated into Dutch and published at Leiden in 1609 by Thomas Basson, an English expatriate printer.²⁴ This edition was reprinted in 1637 by Basson’s son Govert. Interestingly, Basson was a

²¹ *The Infallible True And Assured VVitch*, ¶2r.

²² *Ibid.*, ¶3r.

²³ E.g. *ibid.*, 29, 34-35, 49-50, 57-62, 75-76, 84-96.

²⁴ R. Scot, *Ondecking van Tovery* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1609). See J. A. van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson 1555-1613 – English Printer at Leiden* (Leiden: The Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1961), 49-51.

Familist; not necessarily a fact which has any bearing on Scot's own beliefs, but perhaps further indication that Scot's work was likely to be welcomed in radical circles.²⁵ The treatises of James and Perkins were also translated into Dutch, James in two editions, in Amsterdam and Dordrecht, both in 1603, and Perkins in Amsterdam in 1611;²⁶ James' and Perkins' treatises were also published in Latin editions in Hanau by William Anthony, in 1604 and 1610 respectively.²⁷ No doubt the reputation and prominence of their authors is the reason for this.

The only news pamphlet to be reprinted was *The Wonderfvl Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, originally printed in 1619. Once again it is a work with a complex bibliographical history. The first edition of the pamphlet in 1619 (STC 11107) was printed by John Barnes for George Elde. A variant exists (STC 11107.3) which is substantially but not entirely in the same setting of type, though the text is the same. There was a second edition printed (STC 11107.5) which STC conjectures (on what basis it is not known) to be from 1621. The EEBO copy unfortunately lacks its title-page.²⁸ An examination of the ornaments suggests that this edition came from the same press as the 1619 printing.²⁹ The new edition makes some corrections and introduces an additional section, based on an earlier pamphlet.³⁰ In addition, it is printed in black letter, rather than the original printing's roman. Finally, a third edition of the pamphlet was printed in 1635 (STC 11107.7), this time with a new title, *Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull*, and including the additions of the '1621' edition. This new edition was printed by Miles Flesher,³¹ Elde's partner until the latter's death in 1624. Flesher went on to become one of 'the largest capitalists in the trade for many years' and was Master of the Stationers' Company four times.³² It is very rare for a witchcraft pamphlet to see a second edition, let alone a third, a fact for which their topicality appears responsible; they were inherently ephemeral. Flesher,

²⁵ See *ibid.*, 64-68; Davies, 'The Reception of Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*'.

²⁶ James I, *Demonologia* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz & Laurens Jacobz, 1603); *id.*, *Een t'samensprekinghe, genaemt Demonologia* (Dordrecht: for Jasper Troyen, 1603); W. Perkins, *Tractaet van de Ongodlijcke Toover-const* (Amsterdam: Jan Cloppenburch, 1611).

²⁷ James I, *Daemonologia* (Hanau: William Anthony, 1604); W. Perkins, *Baskanologia, hoc est tractatio de nefaria arte venefica* (Hanau: William Anthony, 1610). Clark claims there were also a French edition of the *Daemonologie* but does not give details and I have found no trace of one; 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship' in S. Anglo (ed.), *The Damned Art – Essays in the literature of witchcraft* (London, Henly & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 156.

²⁸ The edition does not appear in ESTC so I have been unable to determine if this is the only surviving copy.

²⁹ Compare the damage to the woodcut initial M on B1^r of both texts. Less conclusive but still suggestive is a comparison of the roman capital A on C2^r of 1619 and B3^v of 1621, and the roman capital T on E2^v of 1619 and C3^r of 1621.

³⁰ On 'The triall of a Witch', *The Wonderfvl Discoverie of the Witch-crafts of Margaret and Philip Flower* (London? [s. n.] 1621?), D3^{r-v}; cf. *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed*, C2^{r-v}.

³¹ See Appendix 2.

³² Plomer, 76. For the partnership see also Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, 98.

a printer of enormously varied output – from large legal works (for which he held a patent³³) to broadsheet ballads – obviously thought that the *Witchcrafts* pamphlet was worth reprinting, though not under its original title. It seems to have been a popular case; as discussed in 1.4, the trial was notable enough to warrant a ballad as well, also printed by Elde. It is interesting to set this apparent success against the lack of reprints of a work like Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*, which gets a lot more attention from historians.

The only work featuring witchcraft from the period to achieve anything like reprint success was Laurence Price's prose chapbook *The Witch of the Woodlands* (1655). This farcical, scatological and thoroughly silly treatment of witchcraft was reprinted regularly throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth – the editions are undated, but *ESTC* conjectures the latest to have been printed in 1780.³⁴ Its comic representation of witchcraft seems to have been the most popular of all – we recall that the most successful dramatic portrayals of witchcraft appear also to have been the comic ones. Admittedly, at this later period levels of scepticism regarding witchcraft were higher than in the period under consideration (although whether this was true at the popular level remains arguable³⁵). Nevertheless, if one wanted to make the case that witchcraft was either a terrifying or important subject for early modern readers, it could not be done from the evidence of reprints.

While a reprint generally signifies a measure of success for a work, finding a Stationer reissuing unsold sheets is very much a sign of the opposite. The unsuccessful second editions of Cotta's and Bernard's treatises, which necessitated their being reissued with a freshly-dated cancel title-page, have already been mentioned. The same seems to have been the case with the second edition of Scot's treatise; although often called a new edition,³⁶ the re-appearance of the work in 1654 was in fact a reissue, indicating that the 1651 edition was not successful commercially. Calvert was not involved in this issue; the cancel title-page states that it was 'printed' by Ellen Cotes (widow of Richard Cotes, printer of the 1651 edition) for Thomas Williams, a bookseller with whom the Cotes regularly worked. Whatever the reasoning behind the 1651 edition, it does not appear to have been a successful experiment.

³³ Plomer, 76.

³⁴ *ESTC* citations nos R13421, R220455, R182086, R218350, T300399, T52611, T200774, T52612.

³⁵ See O. Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

³⁶ See e.g. J. Sharpe 'Scot, Reginald (1538?-1599)', in Golden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 1016; Almond, *England's First Demonologist*, 6.

Cooper's *The Mystery Of Witch-craft* was a dismal failure. Originally published in 1617, a portion of the edition remained unsold in 1622, when it was reissued with a new title, *Sathan Transformed into an Angell of Light*, along with a new dedication to (somewhat peculiarly) the governor of the East India Company. Sharpe has called the reissue a second printing, and suggested as a result that 'The book struck a responsive chord' – in fact, the opposite was the case.³⁷ It is particularly suggestive that reference to witchcraft was removed from the new title, which instead emphasises the broader theological ideas which underpin the work. In 1655 the sceptical Ady wrote, after a confutation of Cooper's treatise, 'And so I leave this *Cooper* where I found him, namely, in a stationers shop, dear of taking up.'³⁸ The comment seems a plausible one.

Ady himself fared equally badly, however. His treatise *A Candle in the Dark: shewing The Divine Cause of the distractions of the whole Nation of England, and of the Christian World* was reissued not once but twice. In a reversal of the situation with Cooper, however, each subsequent reissue of Ady's work made clearer the reference to witchcraft on the title-page. In the original issue of 1655 it was easily missed in small print at the bottom of the title-page; the first reissue of 1656 changed the subtitle to read *A Candle in the Dark: Or, A Treatise Concerning the Nature of Witches & Witchcraft*. Indeed, given its chronological proximity, this reissue may not have been a response to poor sales but simply a result of the necessity of correcting this rather important omission from the first issue. The treatise did not sell out, however, and unsold sheets were reissued yet again in 1661, this time under the new title *A Perfect Discovery of Witches*.³⁹

News pamphlets were topical by nature and thus unlikely to be reprinted. But as far as the treatises are concerned, this is not a good showing. Only a handful warranted second editions, and of these second editions several were not successful. Scot was amongst these, although his work was subsequently reprinted a third time, unlike the others; the reprints of Scot also cover by far the longest span of time, demonstrating the continuing interest in his work throughout the period. Others did not manage even to sell out their first edition, and were being reissued sometimes years later – in Cooper's case, in disguise. On this measure

³⁷ J. Sharpe, 'Cooper, Thomas' in Golden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 217.

³⁸ *A Candle in the Dark*, 154.

³⁹ One contemporary reader was not fooled, however; under the title on the Huntington Library copy, a contemporary hand has appended 'or A Candle in the Darke'; T. Ady, *A Perfect Discovery of Witches* (London: for Robert Ibbitson to be sold by Henry Brome, 1661), EEBO (copy from Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12670793]

at least, witchcraft books simply do not appear to have been successful as commercial propositions.

Not only, therefore, were works on witchcraft more fundamentally connected with and influenced by their wider contexts, as we have seen in Part one and which was supported by the analysis in 2.1, they did not perform well commercially. Perhaps this very lack of ideological definition is connected with their poor commercial performance: perhaps there was not only a lack of prominence but a lack of interest. We have seen how the treatises were works of polemic originating in a wider programme of reform; it was suggested that this programme was not a success, and this is strongly supported by the lack of impact made on the marketplace by the printed works which were its tools. For the news pamphlets the picture is less clear, but there is no sense in which these were the most interesting and exciting of news reports. We have already seen how few plays and ballads there were on the subject; these works too did not perform well commercially, although the comic witchcraft plays at least appear to have been successful in performance. A picture is emerging of witchcraft as not as important, not as gripping and not as fundamental a subject as our modern fascination with it has led us to believe. It appears rather a more everyday, even a more mundane, subject, with the potential to draw a wider and more complex range of responses from contemporaries than has been recognised. The final part of this thesis will attempt to recover some of those responses directly.

Part 3: Reception

Once a book had left the shelves of its bookseller, it was in the hands of its potential reader (or readers). This final stage in the life cycle of the book is the subject of the last part of this thesis. Here the focus is narrowed once again, back to witchcraft books themselves – indeed, to individual copies of these books – and to the evidence their readers left behind. Only through close focus on individual books and the ways in which early readers reacted to them can we gain access to some sense of their reception. As David Pearson has written, ‘if we wish to truly understand their impact and standing among their contemporaries, we should look at patterns of ownership and the ways in which books were treated.’¹ Part three considers evidence of ownership through collection records and bindings, before moving on to specific responses; those published in print and those left behind on the pages of the books themselves.

3.1 Witchcraft books in private libraries

This chapter presents the results of a study of the distribution of witchcraft books in private libraries of the period. It is based on research with the *Private Libraries of Renaissance England* database, supplemented by Elisabeth Leedham-Green’s *Books in Cambridge Probate Inventories* and a number of other modern editions of private library catalogues, as well as study of seventeenth-century library auction catalogues.² Copies with identifiable provenance markings are also included. Although it includes only a small portion of private libraries from the period, given the range of types of library included it is hoped that the sample may be considered representative. And while evidence of ownership does not equate to evidence that the works in question were actually read, this study offers information on the dissemination of the works and the purchasing habits of their (at least potential) readers. The patterns that have appeared provide an important grounding for study of the reception of witchcraft writing in England, and suggest some important conclusions about the relative impact of individual works on the subject.

¹ D. Pearson, *Books as History – The importance of books beyond their texts* (2nd ed.; London: The British Library, 2011), 23.

² On auction catalogues see D. Pearson, ‘Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England’, *The Library*, 11, 2 (2010), 140, 143–44. Sales catalogues which included libraries of multiple owners, or only portions of larger libraries, were not included in the study.

The most frequently-found English work, by some distance, is Scot's *Discoverie*. Fifteen libraries are found holding a copy of one (or more) of its three editions.³ They include, for example, MP and JP Sir Roger Townshend, and astrologer and alchemist Elias Ashmole (one wonders if Scot's detailed information on practical magic was of interest to the latter). An early purchaser was Richard Stonley, Elizabeth I's teller of the exchequer who was caught embezzling money from the Queen in 1597; it was one of the books stored in 'M^r Stonleys Bedchamber'.⁴ Another early purchaser was George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon. Samuel Pepys owned a copy, recording his purchase of it on the 12th of August 1667. The radical John Webster owned a copy; Webster published his own attack on belief in witchcraft in 1677, in which he praised Scot. Webster is the only library-owner in the sample to have written on the subject of witchcraft (not counting Ben Jonson); Scot and a copy of Ady's *A Candle in the Dark* were the only English witchcraft treatises he owned (though he had read more; see 3.3) – interestingly, both works he agreed with. This finding contradicts received wisdom about Scot, that he was an isolated and unrepresentative figure; as we shall see, however, it is corroborated elsewhere.

Next most frequently-found of English treatises were Gaule's *Select Cases of Conscience* and Ady's *A Candle in the Dark*, held by eight and seven libraries respectively. Some allowance is necessary for the late date of most of the library catalogues, meaning that works printed later are more likely to appear; nevertheless the high ranking of the sceptical Ady and the moderate Gaule is notable. Gaule's treatise is found, for example, among the 'exceptional collection of over 5000 books' of Presbyterian minister Thomas Jacombe.⁵ It was among the books bequeathed by James Duport, dean of Peterborough, to Trinity College, Cambridge, where Duport's copy is still to be found. Another high-ranking clergyman, Robert Grove, bishop of Chichester (d.1696), owned a copy. Ady's sceptical work was owned by Webster, as we have seen; another nonconformist owner was minister Thomas Manton (it was the only work on witchcraft Manton owned). John Hacket, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (d.1670), also owned a copy.

James' *Daemonologie*, Cotta's *Triall Of Witch-craft* and Perkins' *Discourse* are found in six, five and four libraries respectively. *Daemonologie* was the only work on witchcraft owned by William Camden; Thomas Jacombe also owned a copy. Cotta is found in the libraries of,

³ All library catalogue references are given in Appendix 3.

⁴ L. Hotson, 'The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller', *Studies in Bibliography*, 2 (1949-50), 53. See also J. Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber: religion, accounting and the library of Richard Stonley' in J. N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers – Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵ N. H. Keeble, 'Jacombe, Thomas (1623/4-1687)' in *DNB*.

among others, antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes and politician Henry Puckering – in both cases, it was the only work on witchcraft in their library. Another politician, Sir Norton Knatchbull, owned a copy of Perkins, as did clergyman John Maynard. Lord Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke owned copies of Cotta and Perkins, but both these works were dedicated to him, and we can assume that he received copies gratis. Coke owned no other English witchcraft works. Filmer's *Advertisement* is found in three libraries; no other English treatises were found in more than a couple of libraries.

Pamphlets are found less frequently than treatises, but such ephemeral works were rarely recorded by title in inventories.⁶ Many others may simply have been discarded after reading, given their topicality. Nevertheless ownership of several titles is recorded. Antiquary Robert Hare was an early owner; his signature is found in copies of *A Rehearsall both straung and true* and *A Detection of damnable driftes*, both from 1579. Hare also owned a copy of Abraham Fleming's *A straunge and terrible Wunder* (1577) – perhaps Hare had an interest in 'strange news'.⁷ The *Warboys* pamphlet is found in three libraries, as is Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*, all towards the later part of the period – indicating that these works had staying power in the book trade and in libraries. Bower's pamphlet is found in two libraries; the same two libraries that owned what must have been by then a rare copy (indeed, very likely the same copy; see 3.2) of *The Examination of John Walsh* (1566). *Neues from Scotland* and *A Strange Report of Sixe most notorious VVitches* are both also found in two libraries. Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft owned several early witchcraft pamphlets; his collection is discussed in 3.2.

Overall, these numbers are low. With the striking exception of Scot, English witchcraft treatises are as a group rarely found in private libraries. These findings support the conclusions of 2.2, that these works did not make a great impact. English witchcraft treatises were not, of course, the only works on witchcraft available to the English book-buying public. The import trade was of great significance during the period, though now little evidence remains for exactly which Continental works were read in England, save in the references authors made to Continental publications and in records of libraries. Continental works on witchcraft are, in fact, found in the sample in much greater numbers than English works.

One Continental witchcraft treatise is found in private libraries with startling regularity: Heinrich Institoris and Jacobus Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum*. Twenty-two

⁶ See Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 326.

⁷ A. Fleming, *A straunge and terrible Wunder wrought very late in the parish Church of Bongay* (London: John Alde?, 1577), BL C.27.a.4.

libraries are known to have owned a copy. Sorcerer and scientist John Dee owned a copy; it is recorded both in his library catalogues and his diary for 1597, where he notes on August 6th: 'I lent Mr. Edward Hopwood of Hopwood my *Malleus Maleficarum* to use tyll new yere's tyde next, a short thik old boke with two clasps, printed anno 1517.'⁸ (Dee had previously lent Hopwood his copies of Johann Weyer's *De Præstigiis Dæmonum* and Girolamo Menghi's *Flagellum Dæmonum*.⁹ The loans are significant, because Hopwood was examining magistrate in the Edmund Hartley possession case.¹⁰) Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to both Edward VI and Elizabeth I, author of *De Republica Anglorum. The maner of Gouvernement or policie of the Realme of England* (1583), was another early owner. It was another of the books in Richard Stonley's bedchamber. Sir Roger Townshend and Robert Burton both owned copies. Ben Jonson is known to have owned a copy of the *Malleus* in the collection published at Lyons in 1615 which also included the demonologies of Ulrich Molitor and Johannes Nider – we know that his reading in this area was copious, although, interestingly, this acquisition comes after Jonson wrote *The Masque of Qveenes*. Samuel Harsnett appears to have owned three copies; Harsnett does refer to the *Malleus* in his attack on exorcism, *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), but only in passing.¹¹

Originally published in Speyer in 1486, twenty-eight editions of the *Malleus* were published across Europe throughout the remainder of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The majority were published in Germany but there were also editions in Paris, Lyons and Venice.¹² There was, however, no English translation until the twentieth century – this was clearly no barrier to its infiltration into English libraries. It is, as its modern editor writes, 'undoubtedly the best known' witchcraft treatise.¹³ Its notoriety has led to its being cited out of the context of its period and the circumstances of its production, and as representative of witchcraft writing; Clark comments on 'the tendency of modern commentators to read this text and little else.'¹⁴ Without supporting evidence for how a medieval German work by two Dominican inquisitors could be relevant to late

⁸ J. O. Halliwell (ed.), *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son for The Camden Society, 1842), 59.

⁹ Ibid., 57.

¹⁰ See M. Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006), 43.

¹¹ *Declaration*, 17, 76.

¹² C. S. Mackay, 'Introduction' in H. Institoris & J. Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. C. S. Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, 170-71.

¹³ H. Institoris & J. Sprenger, *The Hammer of Witches – A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. and trans. C. S. Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁴ 'Demonology' in Ankarloo, Clark & Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe – The Period of the Witch Trials*, 123; see also James Sharpe on how the *Malleus* has been 'a handy lucky dip of illustrative material when describing some of the more bizarre aspects of witch beliefs', 'Witchcraft and women in seventeenth-century England: some Northern evidence', *Continuity and Change*, 6, 2 (1991), 180.

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, such an approach is erroneous; in fact, however, this research offers material evidence that the *Malleus* was indeed a prominent work in England, and it was so long after its original publication.

The next most frequently-found work is Weyer's *De Præstigiis Daemonum*, first published in Basel in 1563. At the opposite end of the spectrum of belief from the *Malleus*, Weyer's work argued for compassion for those accused of witchcraft and for medical explanations of bewitchments and confessions. Weyer was a physician who brought his medical expertise to bear on his understanding of witchcraft. Although perceived by contemporaries as a full-blown sceptic along the lines of Scot, and hence attacked in print by several English writers, Weyer's conception of witchcraft still involved demonic agency. Weyer's idea of witchcraft as predominantly the delusions of the Devil was generally the prevailing one in English demonology; it would be easier to make the case for Weyer's influence on educated English witchcraft belief than it would the *Malleus*. Nineteen libraries are known to have owned copies of Weyer's treatise. Dee owned copies of two different editions, in quarto and octavo, as did Andrew Perne, dean of Ely, owner of an impressive library. It was the only witchcraft treatise other than Scot's owned by Elias Ashmole. Ferdinando, second Lord Fairfax of Cameron (d.1648), owned a copy in his library of around 400 volumes;¹⁵ part of this library was acquired from William Mount, master of the Savoy Hospital, a selection 'rich in medical works',¹⁶ and it may well have been amongst Mount's books that Weyer's treatise was acquired.

Next most popular is Jean Bodin; copies of the various editions (in French and Latin) of his *De La Demonomanie Des Sorciers*, originally published in Paris in 1580, are found in thirteen libraries. The *Demonomanie* was 'a major publishing success' according to its modern editors; although they note that 'For all its notoriety, however, the *Demon-Mania* has never been translated into English.'¹⁷ This was not a hindrance to its success in England. Bodin was a demonological extremist – he went further than most in believing the activities recorded in witches' confessions to be reality, rather than diabolical delusion – so on first sight it is something of a surprise to find his work so popular in England, a state relatively moderate in terms of witchcraft prosecutions. It seems likely that the success of Bodin's demonology is a result of his fame as a writer more generally; as 'one of the most

¹⁵ A. J. Hopper, 'Fairfax, Ferdinando, second Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1584-1648)' in *DNB*.

¹⁶ J. Raine (ed.), *A Catalogue Of The Printed Books in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York* (York: John Sampson, 1896), xii.

¹⁷ J. L. Pearl, 'Introduction' in J. Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, ed. R. A. Scott & J. L. Pearl, trans. R. Scott (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 9.

important French writers of the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Dee, Burton and Andrew Perne all owned copies of his *Demonomanie*, as did Toby Matthew (d.1628), Archbishop of York, an industrious book-collector. Another owner of note was Ralph Cudworth (d.1688), master of Christ's College, Cambridge, a theologian who published an attack on materialist atheism in 1678.¹⁹

Nicolas Rémy's *Daemonolatreiae*, first published in Lyons in 1595, is found in ten libraries. Rémy was privy counsellor to the Duke of Lorraine, and the treatise is based on the enormous numbers of confessions he heard there in his capacity as judge. Henry Charles Lea suggests that Rémy's treatise superseded the *Mallens* as the foremost authority on witchcraft, but this is not borne out by the evidence considered here, although Rémy's work was nevertheless prominent.²⁰ Harsnett owned a copy, as did Edward Coke and Thomas Jacombe. It was the only demonological treatise in the collection of Sir Edward Dering, the prominent courtier and politician.

Called 'a major (perhaps the major) Catholic authority on magic and witchcraft' by its modern translator,²¹ the Jesuit Martín Del Rio's *Disquisitionum magicarum* (1599) is found in eight libraries. Edward Coke owned a copy, for example. It was the only Continental witchcraft treatise in the library of Anthony Scattergood (d.1687), cleric and sometime poet, who also owned a copy of Scot. Del Rio's treatise was the only demonological work of any kind in the 'magnificent'²² library of Henry Howard, sixth duke of Norfolk (d.1684), one of few Catholics in the sample.

The latter point raises an important issue. Apart from Weyer, who appears to have been a Protestant, and Bodin, whose theology was highly individual²³ – though it is not known in either case how much English contemporaries knew of this²⁴ – all the authors so far mentioned, and the majority of Continental witchcraft authors, were Catholic. They sat side by side, however, with Protestant works (as far as we can tell) on English bookshelves; in fact they were found a lot more frequently. The only Continental Protestant demonologist other than Weyer found in any number in English libraries is Lambert

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ R. Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System Of The Universe* (London: for Richard Royston, 1678).

²⁰ H. C. Lea, *Materials Toward A History Of Witchcraft*, 3 vols (London & New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1957), 604-5.

²¹ P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, 'Introduction' in M. Del Rio, *Investigations into Magic*, ed. & trans. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1.

²² J. Miller, 'Howard, Henry, sixth duke of Norfolk (1628-1684)' in *DNB*.

²³ On Weyer see B. G. Kohl & H. C. E. Midelfort, 'Introduction' in J. Weyer, *On Witchcraft*, ed. B. G. Kohl & H. C. E. Midelfort, trans. J. Shea (Asheville: Pegasus Press, 1998), xxvi-xxvii. On Bodin see Pearl, 'Introduction' in Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, 10; C. Baxter, 'Jean Bodin's *De La Démonomanie Des Sorciers*: The Logic of Persecution', in Anglo (ed.), *The Damned Art*, 82.

²⁴ Bernard certainly thought Bodin was a Catholic; *Guide To Grand-Injury Men*, 74.

Daneau's *De Veneficis* (1574), found in six libraries. Only two of these copies appear to have been the English translation of 1575, a fact which itself speaks volumes about the importance of the import trade. Other Continental Protestant demonologies are rarely found: Thomas Erastus' *Disputatio de Lamiis, seu Strigibus* (1578) and Philipp Ludwig Elich's *Daemonomagia* (1607) are found in two libraries each, while Niels Hemmingsen's *Admonitio de superstitionibus magicis vitandis* (1575) and François Perrauld's *Démonologie* (1653) are found in just one library each. Overall this research demonstrates that confessional barriers simply were not an issue when it came to writing on witchcraft.

With regards to the organisation of the libraries, regrettably there is little of it, whether in the libraries themselves (from what evidence remains) or in the contemporary catalogues of them. Certainly no library or catalogue has anything like a category of books on witchcraft or books on magic. Auction catalogues generally employed a standard format;²⁵ the majority of works on witchcraft here and elsewhere are, sadly, included in the voluminous category 'libri miscellanei'. On the rare occasions where news pamphlets are found, they are not distinguished from theoretical treatises (a finding which correlates with that of 2.1 that they were occasionally produced by the same kinds of Stationer). In all cases, Catholic treatises are catalogued indistinguishably from Protestant treatises (often Continental works are catalogued by language, but never by confessional allegiance). Some libraries, such as Coke's, had a separate section for 'Popishe Books', but Catholic witchcraft treatises are not found there;²⁶ such classifications were limited to works of explicit Catholic propaganda rather than simply any work by a Catholic author. English books, in any case, are usually catalogued under the heading 'English books'. There are a few interesting exceptions, however, which further show works on witchcraft in the context of wider discourses. Several are included under the category of theology or divinity.²⁷ Philology is a curiously common category.²⁸ Richard Bernard's treatise comes under 'Libri Juridici' in Francis Bernard's catalogue, along with Peter Binsfeld's *Tractatus De Confessionibus Maleficorum et Sagarum* (1589); Cotta comes under 'Libri Medici'; the rest come mainly under 'miscellanei'.²⁹ In Edward Coke's catalogue, Perkins and Rémy are catalogued

²⁵ See Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership', 140.

²⁶ Hassall (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Edward Coke*, 17-20.

²⁷ E.g. *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (London: for Richard Chiswel, 1682), 22; *A Catalogue Of The Library of Choice Books Latin and English, Of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Richard Lee* (London: for Elizabeth Lee, 1685), 19; *Bibliotheca Jacobiana* (London: for Edward Millington, 1687), 66, 85.

²⁸ E.g. *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium Librorum Instructissimae Bibliothecae Clarissimi Doctissimiq; Viri Thomae Manton* (London: for William Cooper, 1678), 38; *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, 99, 108, 112, 124; *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Instructissimae Eduardi Wray* (London: for William Cooper, 1687), 36.

²⁹ *A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard* (London: for Brabazon Aylmer et al., 1698), 39, 35, 97.

under divinity, while Henri Boguet's *Discours exécration des sorciers* (1602) comes under 'Books of Phisicke and Naturall Philosophie', and Del Rio and Cotta under the more general 'Tracts and Discourses'.³⁰ The fact that not all works on witchcraft are placed together is suggestive. A similar example is Lord Lumley's catalogue, in which the *Malleus* comes under theology, but Weyer's treatise comes under 'Artes liberales et philosophi'.³¹ There was no obvious place for the discourse, because it touched on and engaged with so many wider issues.

By far the most extensive collection of demonology among those catalogues examined was that of Francis Bernard (*d.*1698), apothecary and physician. Bernard was a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, at one time physician-in-ordinary to James II, and built up an 'impressive' library (to put it mildly),³² the sale catalogue of which fills 450 pages in octavo – in fact it was one of the most significant libraries of its day. As we might expect, the library included an enormous amount of medical works; it also included a comprehensive collection of demonological literature. Bernard owned, it is no exaggeration to say, almost every work discussed here; he is the only known owner of a number of English works, including Cooper's *Mystery* and Davenport's *Witches of Huntingdon*. Bernard owned early demonological works such as Ulrich Molitor's *Tractatus de Pythonicis Mulieribus* (first published in 1489) and, of course, the *Malleus*; as well as popular works such as those by Rémy and Bodin, he owned several less popular (in England) Continental treatises such as Erastus' *Disputatio*, Binsfeld's *Tractatus* and Pierre de Lancre's *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (1612). He owned Weyer's collected works.³³ The collection includes English authors such as Scot, Gifford, Cotta, Bernard, Gaule, Filmer and Ady; as well as authors of post-Restoration witchcraft treatises such as Joseph Glanvill and Richard Baxter.³⁴ The collection surely demonstrates that Bernard took an interest in the subject: but perhaps the most likely explanation is that the works were of some use or interest to him because of encounters with witchcraft in the course of his duties as a physician. According to the preface to the sale catalogue of the library, Bernard was '*a Person who Collected his Books for Use, and not for Ostentation or Ornament*'; '*he never grudg'd his Money in procuring, nor his Time or Labour in perusing any Book which he thought could be any ways instructive to*

³⁰ W. O. Hassall (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Edward Coke* (London: Yale University Press, 1950), 14, 66, 84, 85.

³¹ S. Jayne & F. R. Johnson (eds), *The Lumley Library – The catalogue of 1609* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), 86, 226.

³² J. Burnby, 'Bernard, Francis (*bap.* 1628, *d.*1698)' in *DNB*.

³³ *A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard*, 105.

³⁴ For the entries for Glanvill and Baxter see *ibid.*, 165 (1st pagination), 58 & 72 (3rd pagination).

him'.³⁵ If this were the case it further supports the general argument that works on witchcraft were read in wider contexts; in this case, medicine and physical affliction.

The collection of Richard Smith (*d.*1675) also holds an extensive collection of works on witchcraft. Chief officer of the Poultry Compter until he retired in 1655 to live a scholarly life, Smith was 'an assiduous and discriminating book collector'.³⁶ E. Gordon Duff calls Smith's library 'certainly the most important dispersed in the seventeenth century'.³⁷ Like Bernard's, Smith's collection included the most well-known Continental treatises, alongside lesser-known titles such as the only copies of Bartolommeo Spina's *De Strigibus* (1525) and Alexander Albertinus' *Malleus daemonum* (1620) found in the sample, as well as Elich's *Daemonomagia* and Binsfeld's *Tractatus*. English works in Smith's collection included those by Scot, Gifford, Holland, Gaule and a number of pamphlets. Smith also owned post-Restoration demonologies by Glanvill and John Wagstaffe.³⁸ Clearly it is the astute collectors who picked up copies of the rarer Continental demonologies; but it is also those with a special interest in book-collecting whose libraries hold the largest number of English works.

Another large collection of demonological works was built up by the ninth and tenth earls of Northumberland at Petworth House in West Sussex. The collection includes the predictable *Malleus*, as well as copies of the treatises by Weyer, Erastus, Bodin, Binsfeld, Del Rio, Rémy, de Lancre, Michaelis, and rare copies of Benito Pereira's *Adversus fallaces et superstitiosas artes* (1591) and Boguet's *Discours*. There are only two witchcraft treatises in English in the collection, however; Scot's *Discoverie* and the Edinburgh edition of James' *Daemonologie* – even Michaelis' *Admirable History* appears only in the original French edition. Notorious as the 'wizard earl', the ninth Earl Henry Percy is one of few library-owners with an identifiable interest in the occult, although its extent has been exaggerated. Henry died in 1632, and all the witchcraft books in the collection are from before this date, so they may well have been purchased by him; G. R. Batho, who has made a study of the library, states that at least some if not all of the works on witchcraft are definitely the ninth Earl's. Henry Percy heavily annotated his copy of Weyer, for example.³⁹ Henry's younger brother William drew on Scot's *Discoverie* as a source for his play *Mahomet and His Heaven*, perhaps

³⁵ Ibid., sigs a2^v, a3^v.

³⁶ V. Harding, 'Smith [Smyth], Richard (*bap.* 1590, *d.*1675)' in *DNB*.

³⁷ E. G. Duff, 'The Library of Richard Smith', *The Library*, 30, 8 (1907), 133.

³⁸ *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, 201, 209.

³⁹ G. R. Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl: Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)', *The Library*, 15, 4 (1960), 254; on Henry Percy's ownership of the library, see 251.

using Henry's copy.⁴⁰ The most striking thing about this collection is the clear interest in demonology it demonstrates, coupled with a lack of English works on the subject. The latter were clearly not considered, by this book-buyer at least, to be important contributions to the debate.

These possible examples of a specific interest in witchcraft are rare. And even a large library did by no means guarantee a correspondingly large collection of works on witchcraft. Henry Howard's library has already been mentioned. Another aristocrat (and another Catholic), John Lord Lumley, owned what the modern editors of his catalogue call 'the largest private library of the Elizabethan period'; 'its range of subject matter was enormous.'⁴¹ Lumley owned, however, just two works on witchcraft; unsurprisingly they are the two most popular works, Institoris and Sprenger's *Malleus* and Weyer's *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*. Another exceptional library was that of Andrew Perne, an avid book collector who built up one of the great libraries of his day. It includes only four witchcraft treatises, those of Institoris and Sprenger, Weyer, Bodin, and Daneau. When such collectors did purchase witchcraft books – those without, apparently, a particular interest in the subject – it was infrequently, and it was generally the 'bestsellers' they turned to.

Of course, with the exception of many of the libraries catalogued from probate inventories by Leedham-Green, most of the libraries discussed here are exceptional in some sense: either large or special enough to have been worthy of either sale or an owner's catalogue during the period, or to have been catalogued by modern scholars. Therefore there are few surprises if one considers the demographic of library-owners. They are all, of course, male; three libraries owned by women were examined, but none included any works on witchcraft.⁴² By profession, the largest single group are clergymen, from the humblest to the highest – an archbishop of Canterbury and several archbishops of York, for example – via the occasional radical and nonconformist. Witchcraft was a theological topic, after all; the majority of those who wrote on the subject were clerics, so the results here are not surprising.

The next largest professional demographics are non-clerical scholars, men such as Camden and Robert Hare, followed by noblemen. Physicians and legal professionals are, surprisingly, less-well represented. Francis Bernard was a physician; the sample also

⁴⁰ See M. Dimmock (ed.), *William Percy's Mabomet and His Heaven – A Critical Edition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 40, 42; on Henry Percy see 39-40.

⁴¹ Jayne & Johnson (eds), *The Lumley Library*, 1, 12.

⁴² P. Morgan, 'Frances Wolfreston and 'Hor Bouks': A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector', *The Library*, 11, 3 (1989); H. B. Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', in Andersen & Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers*; C. Bowden, 'The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley', *The Library*, 6, 1 (2005).

includes two Regius Professors of Physic, Thomas Lorkin and John Hatcher; the latter two owning only a copy of Weyer's *De Præstigiis Dæmonum* (clearly popular among medical practitioners). Lorkin's library has been called 'the largest medical library of the sixteenth century', and it was clear that it was intended to serve a very practical purpose.⁴³ Hatcher's library too 'was very large, and contained relatively few books that were not immediately relevant to his medical and scientific studies'.⁴⁴ Both cases support the suggestion that, as with Francis Bernard, witchcraft books were engaging with wider ideas and serving the needs of larger projects. Prominent legal professionals such as Coke and Townshend have already been mentioned; there are also less well-known figures such as Roger Belwood, Serjeant-at-Law, whose library included copies of Weyer and Filmer, as well as a copy of Wagstaffe.⁴⁵ Given that witchcraft was a felony with the potential to appear in court at any time, one might have expected more interest in researching the subject amongst legal professionals. It is certainly a discrepancy if we recall the frequency with which witchcraft treatises were dedicated to or otherwise aimed at members of the legal profession (discussed in 1.1); further evidence that these works did not have the impact their authors desired.

If in terms of demographic the results of this study are generally unsurprising, there are clear conclusions to be drawn in more fundamental areas. First of all, that Scot is by a distance the most frequently-found English writer on witchcraft in English libraries. The sheer frequency with which his work is found, set alongside the scarcity of other English writing on witchcraft of all kinds, is remarkable. It may be an indication of greater scepticism regarding witchcraft than has been recognised; it may simply be the result of the formal differences between Scot's work and other witchcraft treatises: where they were small (often octavo or smaller), thin, polemical works, Scot's sturdy quarto of seventy-eight sheets was encyclopaedic in scope, and looked it – perhaps it simply seemed a work more worthy of important libraries. In addition the first and third editions were beautifully printed. Whatever the reason, Scot was the most regularly-bought of English witchcraft books: this evidence should contribute to a reassessment of the contemporary reception of Scot's ideas, and of his importance to the discourse of witchcraft and beyond.

Copies of Scot are outstripped in numbers, however, by the notorious *Malleus Maleficarum*, of all witchcraft works the most frequently bought for English libraries. This is

⁴³ P. M. Jones, 'Reading Medicine in Tudor Cambridge' in V. Nutton & R. Porter (eds), *The History of Medical Education in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 159, 169ff.

⁴⁴ Leedham-Green, I, 369.

⁴⁵ For the entry for Wagstaffe, see *Bibliotheca Belwoodiana* (London: for John Bullard, 1694), 17.

an unexpected conclusion: we shall see in 3.3 how this predominance is not reflected in reference to the work. Perhaps the same notoriety that leads to the work being so often cited in modern writing on witchcraft was behind the frequency of purchases of it in early modern England. Perhaps the papal bull printed as frontal matter gave the impression that this work was the definitive Catholic statement on the subject. As to the effect on English witchcraft belief, we can only speculate: it does not seem to have caused greater numbers of witches to be prosecuted; it may even be that the work had a strengthening effect on witchcraft scepticism, as Scot thought it would when he re-told what he saw as its preposterous anecdotes and poorly-evidenced theories.

Overall, this research has clearly demonstrated one thing: we ignore the influence of Continental European works on English witchcraft belief at our peril. Continental witchcraft treatises found their way easily into English libraries; not only this, they did so much more often than English treatises. That imported works make a strong showing in English libraries is no surprise for historians of the book trade; for historians of witchcraft discourse it is perhaps more surprising, particularly as Continental works predominate at the expense of English works. Suggestions by historians of witchcraft that Continental books were not available to English readers are clearly wide of the mark.⁴⁶ Perhaps it was simply greater availability, given that most Continental works saw several editions, unlike English works. Perhaps, once again, it is a question of authority and reputation: it may have been that their mainland imprimatur lent them greater authority; it may have been that their form, generally lengthier and with more authorities cited than English works, also contributed to this reception. Or it may be that Continental works were less obviously a product of their ideological context (to English readers) than English works; perhaps they were considered more objective or reliable, unlike English treatises which were so thoroughly a product of a specific reforming programme, as demonstrated in 1.1.

This is speculation, but one conclusion is clear. This study provides material evidence for the suggestion that, in terms of the theoretical discourse at least, English witchcraft belief did not develop in isolation from the Continental debate; indeed, Continental demonology may actually have been more important to educated English witchcraft belief than English demonology. These results also support the wider pattern this thesis has identified, that works on witchcraft did not make the grand impact, nor did they have the prominence, that is sometimes suggested by modern historians and critics. And further, that witchcraft was not a discourse that can be isolated from its context: there was no sense

⁴⁶ E.g. Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, 68, 124.

in which witchcraft books form separate blocks in library catalogues; where it is possible to tell, they were catalogued according to wider themes and issues.

3.2 Binding

Contemporary bindings rarely survive and can be difficult to identify when they do. When evidence does survive its importance for the history of reading can be difficult to interpret. But bindings are important: in the hand-press period books were often bound post-purchase by readers rather than by publishers or booksellers, meaning that binding style can offer clues as to how the purchaser conceptualised the work in question – a significant work worthy of an elaborate, expensive binding, designed to last for posterity, or an ephemeral work requiring only a similarly ephemeral binding? Very often multiple works were bound together, and the other works with which works on witchcraft were bound offer another source of evidence for the ways in which these works were conceptualised by contemporaries. A survey of bindings can offer no firm conclusions, given the scarcity of finding and difficulty of interpreting evidence. Nevertheless, patterns appear, and they add another piece, however small, to our understanding of the contemporary reception of witchcraft writing.

How they were bound

The first thing to note is that the vast majority of copies examined were originally stab-stitched.¹ Of 257 copies examined in person (stab-stitch holes are usually not visible on digital scans), 147 showed evidence of having been stab-stitched, with a further eleven cases in which it was not possible to determine either way (due to exceptionally tight binding or later inner-margin repair work). The two longest works, Scot's *Discoverie* and Michaelis' *Admirable History* were not stab-stitched, because they are too long – both consist of over 60 sheets. The next longest work, Cooper's *Mystery* (50 sheets) was found to have been stab-stitched, but only rarely (well over the maximum length of a stitched book according to the 1586 statute but, as David Foxon has shown, this was not uncommon²). The other exceptions are the two works in duodecimo, Bernard's *Gride* and Gaule's *Select Cases of Conscience*; these works were too small to stab-stitch. Removing these four works from the equation, therefore, we are left with 205 copies, of which 147 were stab-stitched – a high proportion. In many cases the outer pages (usually the recto of the title-page leaf and verso of the final leaf) are soiled and stained, sometimes heavily so; indicating that these

¹ On the practice of stab-stitching see B. C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique* (2nd ed.; London: The Holland Press, 1978), 11-12.

² D. Foxon, 'Stitched Books', *The Book Collector*, 24, 1 (1975).

copies were at some point distributed and possibly read with no binding at all. Stab-stitching was not necessarily, therefore, a temporary binding. This applies to both news pamphlets and treatises – in this respect there is no distinction in how they were treated. While stab-stitching was often synonymous with ‘pamphlet’ and had connotations of ephemerality,³ not getting a book bound in leather or vellum may simply have been a question of financial restraints, or even of portability and reading logistics. This does not necessarily tell us anything about the reception of these works, therefore, though it does support the sense of the treatises as polemical tracts rather than scholarly works to be returned to often.

The most readily-identifiable original binding to survive is limp vellum, found on a number of copies.⁴ Some of these have stab-stitch holes as well, however, indicating that the vellum binding was not added at time of purchase or by the bookseller. Limp vellum was the cheapest form of binding,⁵ and it presumably indicates that these works were not considered important enough to warrant a more expensive binding of leather or vellum over boards. Even limp vellum could be decorated however, as found on several copies in the survey, in one case – the Folger copy of Cooper’s *Mystery* – relatively elaborately (see figure 2).⁶ It is possible, however, that this decoration was added at a later date. Sometimes the title of the work and the author’s name were lettered in ink on the spine of such bindings – in one case on the outer rear cover.⁷

³ Ibid.

⁴ G. Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning VVitches And Witchcrafts* (2nd ed.; London: Richard Field & Felix Kingston to be sold by Arthur Johnson, 1603), Codrington DX.I.I.; James, *Daemonologie*, Lambeth, Library of Sion College ARC K.19.5 / J.23.I; Perkins, *Discourse*, CUL Ely.d.590; Perkins, *Discourse* (1610), Bodleian 8° D267 Linc., Folger STC 19698 Copy 2 and Wren C.10.82; Bernard, *A Guide To Grand-Ivry Men*, BL 518.a.4 and Folger STC 1943; Cooper, *Mystery*, Bodleian 8° C 176 Th.; Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, Queen’s Sel.b.78; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, CUL Peterborough.A.2.30 and UCL SR Ogden 310.

⁵ See J. Miller, *Books Will Speak Plain – A Handbook for Identifying and Describing Historical Bindings* (Ann Arbor: The Legacy Press, 2010), 111-13.

⁶ Cooper, *Mystery*, Folger STC 5701; Perkins, *Discourse*, Folger STC 19697; Cotta, *The Infallible Trve And Assvred VVitch*, BL 1474.aa.30.

⁷ James, *Daemonologie*, Lambeth, Library of Sion College ARC K.19.5 / J.23.I.

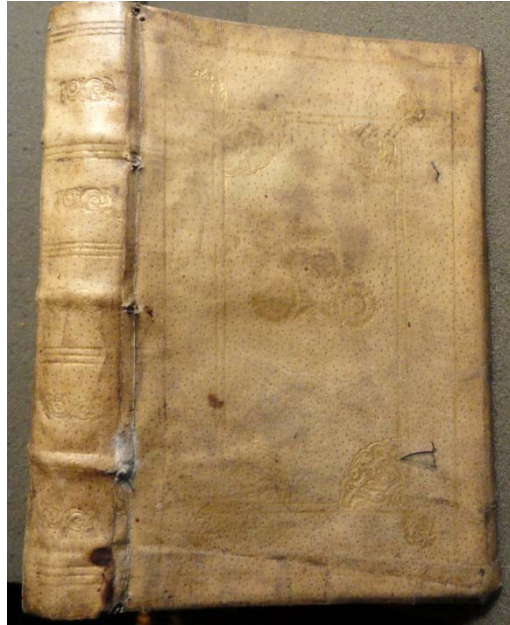


Figure 2: decorated limp vellum binding on Cooper, *Mystery* (Folger STC 5701).

Of those leather bindings identified as contemporary or possibly contemporary, all are plain, with minimal decoration. This was the most common form of retail binding in the seventeenth century.⁸ Figure 3 shows an example; plain sheepskin decorated in blind with a double pallet roll; there are no pastedown endpapers, meaning that the original pasteboard boards are visible, along with the sewing supports. The original stitching is also visible; the lack of any other holes suggests that this book was bound at point-of-sale (although in this instance the book is a duodecimo, too small for stab-stitching). The gilt lettering on the spine is a later addition: gilt lettering was not common practice in England until after the Restoration; adding a date on the spine came even later, not usually found until after 1800.⁹ None of the works in contemporary leather bindings (with the exception of pamphlets in *sammelbandē*) were previously stab-stitched, perhaps suggesting that these were retail bindings. The only notable decoration found was the gilt armorial stamps added to Richard Bancroft's *sammelbandē* (see below) and George Carey's copy of Scot's *Discoverie*.¹⁰

⁸ G. Pollard, 'Changes in the Style of Bookbinding, 1550-1830', *The Library*, 11, 2 (1956), 76.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 84, 91.

¹⁰ *Discoverie*, Bodleian 4° S 53 Th.

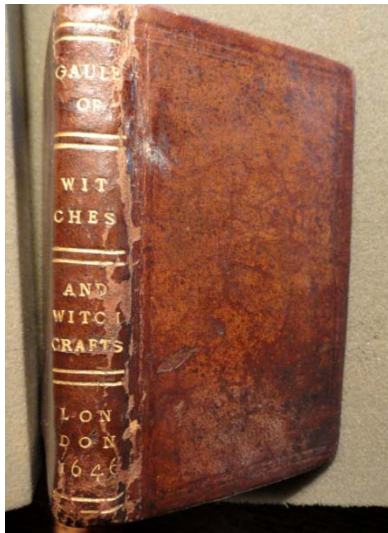


Figure 3a: possibly contemporary sheepskin binding on Gaule, *Select Cases of Conscience* (Folger 156-285q); the gilt lettering is presumably much later.



Figure 3b: inner front board, showing lack of endpaper and spine support cords.

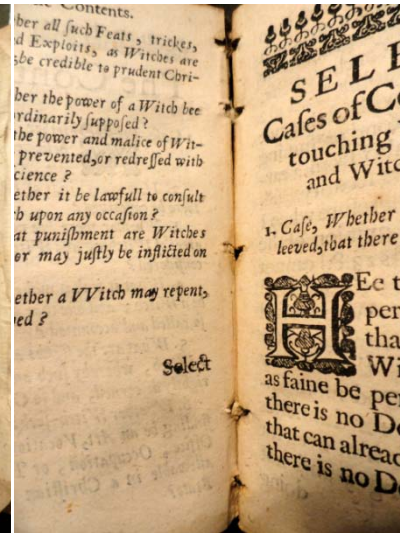


Figure 3c: original stitching.

Limited though the evidence is, it seems that cheaper bindings are the norm. Whilst we might not expect topical pamphlets to receive the dignity of more expensive leather or vellum over boards, finding treatises so often either stab-stitched (i.e. not immediately bound by their first purchasers, if at all) or bound in limp vellum is more surprising. When works were not bound by their retailers, there does not seem to have been much interest on the part of their customers in having them expensively and durably bound. If there is a conclusion to be drawn from this it might be that the polemical aspect of these works was uppermost in readers' minds: they were transient blasts in a debate rather than scholarly works designed for lengthy study. It shows us witchcraft books as ordinary books, not worthy of special treatment but read in the rough-and-tumble of everyday life.

What they were bound with

More illustrative of the reception of witchcraft writing are the other works bound alongside witchcraft works, in composite books created post-purchase by contemporary readers. Kevin Sharpe has drawn attention to the ideological importance bound collections could have.¹¹ Without external evidence this practice too relies on being able to date the binding of the *sammelbande* in question, therefore it is once again an approximate enterprise. Nevertheless, some patterns appear in the copies examined. The key question is whether or

¹¹ *Reading Revolutions*, 47-48.

not works on witchcraft were bound with other works on witchcraft, or whether they were brought together according to wider discourses with which they engaged.

We do find some contemporary *sammelbande* in which witchcraft is the theme. Richard Smith's collection, for example, included a *sammelband* made up of the Edinburgh edition of James' *Daemonologie*, the *Newes from Scotland* pamphlet, Gifford's *Dialogue* and *Discourse*, Holland's *Treatise* and the *Warboys* pamphlet.¹² A *sammelband* with the same titles appears in the collection of Thomas Jacombe – it seems likely that Jacombe bought the collection at the auction of Smith's books.¹³ Likewise, Smith's other witchcraft *sammelband* – containing Francis Cox's *Short treatise declaringe the detestable wickednesse of magical sciences* (1561), 'Letter concerning the Torment and sickness of a Maid in Chester' (1564), 'Examination of a Sorcerer' (presumably *The Examination of John Walsb*), and 'Dialogue of Witches, with 6 several more treatises of Witchcraft'¹⁴ – is later found in the collection of Francis Bernard.¹⁵ A *sammelband* in Thomas Britton's collection draws a connection between witchcraft and wider supernatural phenomena: along with Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*, the 1635 edition of the Belvoir witches pamphlet, *The most true and wonderfull Narration Of two women bewitched in Yorkshire* and the unspecific 'Relations of the Tryals of Witches', we find *The VVandering Jew, Telling Fortunes to English-men* (1640).¹⁶ A possibly contemporary compilation in the Bodleian includes Holland's *Treatise*, Gifford's *Dialogue* and the *Warboys* pamphlet.¹⁷ Another frustratingly non-descriptive sales catalogue entry indicates another witchcraft-themed collection in the library of Roger Belwood: 'A Volume containing sundry Tracts relating to Witchcraft, and the Discovery and Tryals and Examinations of witches.'¹⁸ The most striking feature of these collections is that no distinction is drawn between treatises and news pamphlets.

More often, however, works on witchcraft were bound with works on other subjects. Often such compilations were simply theological. Gifford's *Discourse* (1589), for example, is found in a *sammelband* with other theological works, all from 1624, including sermons by Isaac Bargrave and Thomas Taylor, Antony Wotton's *Rvnne from Rome*, John Gee's *The Foot*

¹² *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, 361.

¹³ *Bibliotheca Jacombiana*, 91.

¹⁴ *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, 368.

¹⁵ *A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard*, 63 (3rd pagination). There the missing titles are identified as Lambert Daneau's *A Dialogue of Witches* (London: [T. East? for] Richard Watkins, 1575), *A Detection of damnable driftes*, W. W.'s *A true and iust Recorde* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1582), *A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter*, John Darrell's *An Apologie, or defense of the possession of William Sommers* (Amsterdam?: [s. n.] 1599?) and Fleming's *A straunge and terrible Wunder*.

¹⁶ *The Library of Mr. Tho Britton, Smallcoal-man* (London: for John Bullord, 1694), 28.

¹⁷ Bodleian 4^o B71 Jur.

¹⁸ *Bibliotheca Belwoodiana*, 41.

out of the Snare, and John Randall's *The Great Mystery of Godliness*.¹⁹ Gifford's work is anomalous because of its earlier date, but otherwise this apparently contemporary collection seems thematically predicated on theological polemic. Similarly, a copy of James Mason's *Anatomie Of Sorcerie* (1612) is found bound with Thomas Ingmethorpe's *A Sermon Vpon The Words Of Saint Paul* (1619), a collection of John Randall's sermons from 1623 and *A Replye Answering A Defence Of the Sermon, preached at the Consecration of the Bishop of Bathe and Welles, by George Downname* (1613).²⁰ Another copy of Mason's tract is found bound with a number of theological works, the latest of which is from 1617; including George Paule's *Life Of... Iohn Whitgift* (1612), *A Large Examination Taken at Lambeth... of M. George Blaknell* (1607) and William Symonds' *Pisgab Evangelica* (1605).²¹ A copy of Quaker Richard Farnworth's *Witchcraft Cast out* in the John Rylands Library is found in a collection of forty-two Quaker tracts, including others by Farnworth, bought by a J. Stalham (possibly anti-Quaker polemicist John Stalham²²) for 6^s 4^d in 1655.²³ It is clear that in this instance witchcraft is less important than the wider discourse of which the tract was a part.

On several occasions we find witchcraft news pamphlets bound in *sammelbande* with other news pamphlets. *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed* (1613), for example, is found in a compilation of other news pamphlets from the same year; the titles include John Hilliard's *Fire from Heauen; Thre Bloodie Murders; The Windie Year. Shewing Many strange Accidents that happened, both on the Land, and at Sea, by reason of the winde and weather*; and *The senerall Notorious and levd Cousnages of Iohn VVest, and Alice West, falsely called King and Queene of Fayries*.²⁴ A copy of H. F.'s *A true and exact Relation* is found bound in a large collection of fifty news pamphlets in quarto, all from 1645.²⁵ Clearly the works in these collections are linked by topicality, rather than their specific individual subjects.

Several *sammelbande* with other possible themes were found. A copy of *Lawes against witches* (1645) is found in a later seventeenth-century compilation of which the theme is clearly law and legal tracts²⁶ – 'an impromptu, customized reference book.'²⁷ Cotta's *Triall* is found in a collection the theme of which appears to be works of a medical nature; it includes Edward Jorden's *Briefe Discourse Of A disease Called The Suffocation of the Mother*

¹⁹ Bodleian 4° G 18 Th.

²⁰ Bodleian 4° I 18 Th.

²¹ Queen's UU.b.1420.

²² J. Walter, 'Stalham, John (d. 1677)' in DNB.

²³ JRL Midgley Ref. Lib. /26, third front free endpaper verso.

²⁴ Bodleian 4° E 17 Art.

²⁵ Bodleian Ashm. 1071.

²⁶ JRL 7233.17.

²⁷ A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 160.

(1603), 'Clow's Treatise de Morbo Gallico... with many others'.²⁸ The latter was one of physician Francis Bernard's books; his collection also includes a *sammelband* that includes the second edition of Gifford's *Dialogue* and a copy of Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie* bound with Chambers 'against Judicial Astrology' (1601), *Astronomiæ Encomium* (1601) and 'Of Walking Spirits' (possibly Ludwig Lavater's *Of ghostes and spirites walking by nyght* (1572))²⁹ – the theme here appears to be subjects of a supernatural nature, but not specifically witchcraft. There are also plenty of *sammelbande* with no obvious theme: topical works mixed with theological tracts mixed with poetic works, etc.³⁰

Perhaps the most historically significant *sammelbande* are found in Lambeth Palace Library; there there are four bound collections featuring works on witchcraft, three of which are decorated with either the arms or initials of Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft on leather (the other in plain limp vellum). The collections have historical significance because of Bancroft's central role in the exorcism controversy at the turn of the century; Bancroft was the driving force behind the prosecution of the exorcist John Darrell (two of whose works appear in the *sammelbande*). Only one of the collections has witchcraft as its theme: it includes *The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine Witch named Alse Gooderige* (1597) and Darrell's *A True Narration Of The Strange And Grevous Vexation By The Devil of 7. Persons In Lancashire* (1600), along with three pamphlets not relating to the exorcist controversy, *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches, Newes from Scotland* and *A Most VVicked worke of a wretched Witch*.³¹ Two of the collections appear to have topicality as their theme: a second copy of *The most wonderfull and true storie* and a copy of Darrell's *Apologie* are bound with, for example, *The true report of a late practise enterprised by a Papist, with a yong Maiden in Wales* (1582), *The manner of the death and execution of Arnold Cosbie, for murthering the Lord Brooke* (1591) and *The most horrible and tragicall murther of the right honorable, the vertuous and valerous Gentleman, Iohn Lord Bourgh* (1591); while a copy of *A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter* is bound with three other murder pamphlets.³² The final *sammelband* has no apparent theme: *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde* is bound with some topical verses and two works by Walter Bailey, one on medicinal baths and one on pepper.³³ These four *sammelbande* offer a microcosm of the results of the whole survey: witchcraft works were bound with other

²⁸ *A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard*, 97. The reference is to William Clowes' *A Short And profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus)* (London: John Day, 1579).

²⁹ *A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard*, 49 (3rd pagination).

³⁰ E.g. CUL D*16.8(E); JRL 7230.1; Bodleian 4° W 9 Art.

³¹ Lambeth [ZZ]1597.15.

³² Lambeth [ZZ]1594.16.04 and [ZZ]1584.24.04.

³³ Lambeth [ZZ]1587.12.03.

works on witchcraft, but they were more likely to be bound with works on wider themes with which they engaged – and occasionally works were bound together for no apparent reason at all.

Once again therefore, limited though the evidence may be, certain patterns are clear. In the majority of contemporary bound collections, works on witchcraft were not bound with other works on witchcraft. Works were more likely to be bound together based on some more general theme with which they engaged, or for no evident thematic reason (often simply by date or format). This supports the argument made throughout this thesis, that the wider ideological discourses with which they engaged were just as significant to contemporaries as the ‘witchcraft’ in witchcraft works, which in any case could be defined broadly and in a number of different ways. There is a further theme developing: when they were bound with other witchcraft works, treatises and pamphlets were treated indiscriminately, supporting the hints in 2.1 and 3.1 that the formal divisions between polemical and topical works may not have been as pronounced as is often assumed by modern writing on the subject.

3.3 Public responses

Private libraries and bindings, no matter what they may tell us about the dissemination and subsequent treatment of books, do not necessarily say anything about how those books were actually read. The focus of these final two sections turns to direct evidence of reading: written responses to witchcraft books. Firstly, it is responses that were published that are the subject of scrutiny. What references were made to witchcraft in print, in print? Which books on witchcraft did subsequent writers use, both those writing on witchcraft and those writing on other topics, and how did they use them?¹

As discussed in 1.1, the ideological distance between Scot and his fellow English demonologists was not as wide as appears at first glance. Both shared a typically Protestant providential understanding of sin and affliction, within which ideas of witchcraft were situated. Almost all subsequent witchcraft writers who referred to Scot, however, did so in derogatory terms – and most subsequent writers on witchcraft did refer to him. They ignored their ideological common ground and focussed on Scot's denial of the existence of witches. Gifford, the next English author to write on witchcraft, does not explicitly refer to Scot, but may well have known of him.² Holland certainly did: Scot's book, Holland wrote, contained 'horrible impieties' and ought to be 'commended to Vulcan.'³ Holland quoted Scot directly, giving the quotations to the sceptical character in the dialogue that makes up the first part of his treatise, making it essentially a dialogue with Scot. James called Scot a Sadducee; Scot's 'damnable opinions' were a partial inspiration for his work.⁴ The editor of Perkins' treatise referred to Scot as 'the gainesayer'⁵; Perkins himself does not refer to Scot but there are indications that he had read the *Discoverie*.⁶ Cooper accused Scot of atheism.⁷ Cotta and Bernard were more measured: Cotta criticised Scot for going too far in disbelieving in witchcraft, but praised the *Discoverie* as a good source of examples of magical imposture;⁸ Bernard borrowed anecdotes from Scot and used him as a source, yet, like Cotta, thought that Scot had gone too far in attributing supernatural phenomena only to melancholy.⁹ Scot was a figurehead for non-belief in witchcraft among the educated;

¹ Data in this chapter is based partly on searches of the *EEBO* Text Creation Partnership database.

² See e.g. *Discourse*, A2^r.

³ *Treatise*, F3^r and n.

⁴ *Daemonologie*, A2^{r-v}.

⁵ T. Pickering, 'To The Right Honovrable, Sir Edward Cooke' in Perkins, *Discourse*, ¶6^r.

⁶ *Discourse*, 2, 178, 188-89.

⁷ *Mystery*, 17-18.

⁸ *Triall*, 62, 66.

⁹ *A Grilde To Grand-Ivry Men*, 267; see also 33, 96, 135 and *passim*.

though it may have been negatively, the *Discoverie* was the most widely-read treatise on witchcraft among those who wrote on the subject.

Outside witchcraft writing the *Discoverie*'s reception was more positive, and Scot's work more influential – more so than has traditionally been recognised. Those who wrote against exorcism in the controversy at the turn of the century were all influenced by Scot – Samuel Harsnett, John Deacon, John Walker and Edward Jorden.¹⁰ 'A careful reading of Harsnet [*sic*] shows that he was applying Scot's methods throughout', writes Paul Kocher, 'And his writing the book under the protection of Bancroft, Bishop of London, whose chaplain he was, opens wide vistas of the tolerance of the Anglican Church for such ideas.'¹¹ Scot's fellow sceptic Ady, who knew his predecessor's work well,¹² claimed in the 1650s that the *Discoverie* 'did for a time take great impression in the Magistracy, and also in the Clergy'¹³ – in this respect, he was correct. Nicholas Gyer dedicated a treatise on bloodletting to Scot, clearly sharing Scot's views on witchmongers and the 'poore, plaine, seely and simple innocents, and olde women: whom by friuolous evidences, incredible proofes, vayn ghesses, preiudicate presumptions, meere impossibilityes they would haue condemned and executed for witches.'¹⁴ The astrologer John Harvey wrote, in reference to magical imposters, that 'the worshipfull gentleman, master *Reginald Scot*, hath lately deserued good commendations, for his learned discouery of such palpable collusions'.¹⁵ Harvey's brother Gabriel, and the latter's antagonist Thomas Nashe, had both read Scot, mentioning him approvingly.¹⁶ Robert Burton had read Scot, and like Cotta praised his exposé of imposters, though Burton expressed doubts about Scot's scepticism.¹⁷ A number of playwrights used Scot as a source of information on magic, as did Samuel Purchas and the anonymous author of *The Second Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus* (1594), a piece of prose fiction.¹⁸ Chapters

¹⁰ Harsnett, *Declaration* e.g. 135; J. Deacon & J. Walker, *Dialogicall Discourses of Spirits and Diuels* (London: for George Bishop, 1601), e.g. 104, 115, 125; E. Jorden, *A Brieft Discourse Of A Disease Called The Suffocation of the Mother* (London: John Windet, 1603), e.g. D4^{r-v}.

¹¹ P. H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1953), 132.

¹² See e.g. *A Candle in the Dark*, A3^r, 41, 87, 169.

¹³ *Ibid.*, A3^r.

¹⁴ N. Gyer, *The English Phlebotomy* (London: for Andrew Mansell, 1592), A4^v-A5^r.

¹⁵ J. Harvey, *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Propheesies* (London: John Jackson for Richard Watkins, 1588), 51.

¹⁶ G. Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), 191; Nashe, *Strange Newes*, H4^v; *id.*, *The Terrors of the night* (London: John Danter for William Jones, 1594), C1^r.

¹⁷ R. Burton, *The Anatomy Of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield & James Short for Henry Cripps, 1621), 267, 71-72.

¹⁸ William Percy used Scot as a source for *Mahomet and His Heaven* (unpublished during the period; written c.1601), see Dimmock (ed.), *Mahomet and His Heaven*, 40, 42. On Jonson's (unacknowledged) use of Scot in *The Masque Of Queenes*, see Furniss, 'The Annotation of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*', 346-47. On Middleton's use of Scot in *The Witch*, see O'Connor (ed.), 'The Witch' in Taylor & Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton – The Collected Works*, notes, *passim*. On Scot's possible influence on Shakespeare, see S. Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare Bewitched' in Cox & Reynolds (eds), *New Historical Literary Study*; R. Strier, 'Shakespeare and the Sceptics', *Religion & Literature*, 32, 2 (2000). For Purchas's reference to Scot, see S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*

from Scot's work on conjuring tricks were republished as manuals on conjuring in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹⁹ Scot, then, was widely read – both for his ideas and for the large amount of source material he provides.

After the Restoration, Scot's name continued to be mentioned. He received short shrift from Joseph Glanvill: Scot, Glanvill wrote, 'doth little but tell *odd Tales*, and *silly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretend *this* to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*'.²⁰ Meric Casaubon similarly thought Scot 'a very inconsiderable man' – even though:

His book, I must confess, I never had, nor ever read; but as I have found it by chance, where I have been, in friends houses, or Book-sellers shops; and, as the manner is, cast my eyes, here and there; by which perfunctory kind of taste, I am sure, I had no temptation to read much of him.²¹

We may wonder whether Casaubon's readers considered this sufficient refutation. Richard Gilpin also condemned Scot.²² On the other side of the question, the anonymous author of *The Doctrine Of Devils* (1676) praised Scot as 'the Chief and First *Anti-demonologist*, of this Nation at least'.²³ Scot's work was used and praised by Webster, who called Scot 'a learned and diligent person, as the whole Treatise will bear witness'.²⁴ Francis Hutchinson, the last sceptical author to write against a fading belief, borrowed several anecdotes from Scot in his *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (1718), demonstrating Scot's relevance from beginning to end in the English witchcraft debate.²⁵ The author of a modern monograph on Scot has claimed that 'Considering the size and force of Scot's work, the recognition it received was very slight' – but this is not borne out by the evidence.²⁶ In fact Scot was cited more widely than any other English writer on witchcraft.

(London: William Stansby for Henry Featherstone, 1613), 310, n. On *The Second Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus*, see E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 298-303. After the Restoration, Thomas Shadwell used Scot as a source for his play, *The Lancashire Witches, And Tegue o Divelly The Irish Priest* (London: for R. Clavell, J. Robinson, A. & J. Churchill, & J. Knapton, 1691), 34, 50.

¹⁹ S. Rid, *The Art of Iugling* (London: for T. B. to be sold by Samuel Rand, 1612); *Hocvs Pocvs Ivnior* (London: T. H. for R. M., 1634).

²⁰ J. Glanvill, *A Philosophical Endeavour Towards the Defence of the Being Of Witches And Apparitions* (London: John Grismond for James Collins, 1666), 61.

²¹ M. Casaubon, *Of Credulity And Incredulity* (London: for T. Garthwait, 1668), 40.

²² R. Gilpin, *Demonologia Sacra* (London: J. D. for Richard Randel & Peter Maplisden, 1677), 29.

²³ *The Doctrine Of Devils* (London: for the author, 1676), 195.

²⁴ J. Webster, *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft* (London: J. M., 1677), 12.

²⁵ F. Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (London: for R. Knaplock & D. Midwinter, 1718), 27, 29-31, 189-93.

²⁶ R. H. West, *Reginald Scot and Renaissance Writings on Witchcraft* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 111.

Gifford's two witchcraft tracts were less well-read. Holland praised him – 'for that but few haue written to any purpose any thing, which may giue light in this argument, in the english tongue, master George Gifford onely excepted vnto whom we are much bound in the Lorde'²⁷ – but did not rely on him as an authority. Cooper mentioned Gifford briefly as one among those who had 'earnestly laboured' in the witchcraft debate; and at the end of his treatise Cooper admits that 'I haue borrowed most of my Grounds: For the Prooofe & Discoverie of the Doctrine of Witch-craft, from the Painefull and profitable Labours of the Worthies of our Times that haue waded before mee herein', naming Gifford, James, Perkins 'and others'.²⁸ The author of *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* included a brief overview of writing on witchcraft in the preface to the pamphlet, mentioning Gifford's *Dialogue*, 'Wherein the cunning of the Diuell is discovered'.²⁹ Bernard, who had read widely, used both Gifford's witchcraft tracts for a handful of illustrative examples.³⁰ Ady had also read widely; Gifford, he claimed, 'being overcome by the strength of common report, grounded upon the Confession of such as have been executed, he only yeeldeth to those strong delusions which have deceived many'; nevertheless Gifford, Ady writes, 'had more of the Spirit of truth in him than many of his profession' (whether Ady is referring to clergymen or demonologists is not clear).³¹ It is interesting to see Gifford's books still readily available in the 1650s; but Gifford was not influential on his fellow witchcraft writers. Neither was his work on witchcraft popular outside writing on witchcraft, with only two references to it uncovered; unlike his writings against separatism, for example, which were popular.³²

Given his status we might well expect James P's *Daemonologie* to be a highly influential work. It certainly was on Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*, as Stephen Pumfrey has discussed.³³ Potts was very familiar with James' work and quoted (unacknowledged) from it on several occasions. Cooper and Bernard had both read James' work, but only refer to it in passing; although Cooper, as we have seen, may have borrowed more from James than he admits.³⁴ *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower* put James first on its list of witchcraft writing. Matthew Hopkins had read James' treatise, and uses it in his

²⁷ *Treatise*, B1r.

²⁸ *Mystery*, 7, 363.

²⁹ *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, B4v.

³⁰ *A Guide To Grand-Irry Men*, 113, 163, 193.

³¹ *A Candle in the Dark*, 166-67.

³² Deacon & Walker, *Dialogicall Discourses*, 156, 209; R. Bolton, *Instrvctions For A Right Comforting Afflicted Consciences* (London: Felix Kingston for Thomas Weaver, 1631), 322-23. A further possible reference to Gifford appears in *The Witch of Edmonton*, 4.1.52-56, cf. Gifford, *Dialogue*, L4v.

³³ S. Pumfrey, 'James P's *Daemonologie* and *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches*' in Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches*.

³⁴ Cooper, *Mystery*, 7, 90, 281, 363; Bernard, *A Guide To Grand-Irry Men*, 144, 256.

defensive tract to justify the witchfinders' practice of 'swimming' suspected witches.³⁵ Ady printed a relatively lengthy confutation of James' work although, apparently unwilling to criticise a king, Ady suggested that the editor of James' collected works may in fact have been their author, or even 'some *Scotish* man, blinded by some *Scotish* Mist, who desired to set forth his own Tenents for the upholding of Popish errorrs'.³⁶ Webster similarly doubted James' authorship later in the century.³⁷

James was the only English-language author other than Scot used by Jonson as a source for his *Masque of Queenes* – though given the masque's audience, this is hardly surprising.³⁸ Sir Walter Raleigh had read the *Daemonologie*, and cites it as an authority in a discussion of magical terminology.³⁹ George Carleton knew it and referred readers of his attack on astrologers to the *Daemonologie* as an authority on witchcraft, as did Edward Waterhouse.⁴⁰ Although not particularly influential on later witchcraft writing, and slim though these citations may be, James' treatise was among the most widely cited of witchcraft treatises published in England. No doubt the status of its author has much to do with this.

Perkins was one of the most eminent English theologians of his day; how influential was his witchcraft treatise? Cotta knew the *Discourse*, and refers to it several times.⁴¹ Perkins was the only English author cited by Roberts, though on just a single occasion.⁴² Cooper, as we have seen, knew Perkins' work; of all the authors Cooper names, Perkins may well have been the one he copies most thoroughly. Cooper's definition of witchcraft, for example, is copied verbatim from Perkins, and much of Cooper's treatise paraphrases Perkins' work.⁴³ Bernard knew Perkins' work but rarely cites it.⁴⁴ Ady is uneasy to criticise such an eminent author, and concocts various possibilities to exempt Perkins from blame for the work – Ady makes it clear that for the contents of the *Discourse* 'there is not the least inckling in the Scriptures'.⁴⁵ Filmer was not so reticent; Perkins was the main target of his

³⁵ *Discovery*, 6; see Gaskill, *Witchfinders*, 105.

³⁶ *A Candle in the Dark*, 139ff., quotations at 139 & 140.

³⁷ Webster, *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft*, 9.

³⁸ Furniss, 'The Annotation of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*', 346; Jonson, *The Masque Of Queenes*, e.g. A4^v, B1^v.

³⁹ W. Raleigh, *The History Of The World* (London: William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1617), 201.

⁴⁰ G. Carleton, *ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΟΜΑΝΙΑ: The Madnesse of Astrologers* (London: William Jaggard for W. Turner, 1624), 45; E. Waterhouse, *An humble Apologie For Learning And Learned Men* (London: T. M. for M. M., G. Bedell & T. Collins, 1653), 34.

⁴¹ *Trial*, 53, 89, 91, 95.

⁴² *Treatise*, 74.

⁴³ *Mystery*, 47; see also 1, 131, 363. Cf. Perkins, *Discourse*, 3-4.

⁴⁴ *A Guide To Grand-Irry Men*, 124, 215, 218.

⁴⁵ *A Candle in the Dark*, 162-63.

Advertisement, though this was largely for political reasons.⁴⁶ Thus, although more widely read than other authors, Perkins' importance for later writers was in fact not as great as we might imagine. Post-Restoration authors did not make use of Perkins' work.⁴⁷ His treatise was, however, influential on the most famous witch-trial of all – at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. In his printed justification of the trials Cotton Mather includes a lengthy transcription of Perkins' instructions for trying witches, 'An ABSTRACT of Mr. PERKINS's Way for the Discovery of WITCHES'.⁴⁸ Perkins' thought may well have influenced the trial proceedings; it is an example of how witchcraft writing could have influence beyond the printed page.

Perkins' *Discourse* was of use to several writers on other topics. Thomas Gataker used it regularly for support in his *Of The Nature And Use of Lots* (1619); Perkins' treatise included lengthy discussions of divining as part of his attack on white witches, and it was on such matters that Gataker cited Perkins as an authority.⁴⁹ Independent preacher Nathaniel Homes cited Perkins regularly in his millenarian denunciation of the multitude of sins abounding in the Interregnum, *Demonologie, And Theologie* (1650); in support of points such as the implicit diabolical pact made by figure-casters, the diabolism inherent in use of amulets and other charms, and, like Gataker, how those who cast lots have 'confederacy with the Devil'.⁵⁰ Perkins was also cited as an authority to support arguments in fields as diverse as attacks on the weapon-salve in 1631 and on Quakerism in 1653.⁵¹ After Scot, Perkins was the most widely cited English author outside writing on witchcraft. As we can see, however, in keeping with previous findings of this thesis, the subjects on which he was cited were frequently way outside the traditional definition of witchcraft as harmful magic on which Perkins is so often cited by modern scholars.

Cotta, Roberts and Cooper fared less well, each of them only being cited by the well-read Bernard, with mentions for Roberts and Cotta in the *Wonderful Discoverie* pamphlet.⁵² The latter's reference to Cotta is to his earlier work, *A Short Discoverie Of The Vnobserved Dangers Of seuerall sorts of ignorant and vnconsiderate Practisers of Physicke* (1612), which included attacks on cunning folk, rather than his *Triall Of Witch-craft*. Bernard cited Roberts most

⁴⁶ *Advertisement*, *passim*; see Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations*, 14.

⁴⁷ Though Hutchinson mentions him in passing; *Historical Essay*, 31.

⁴⁸ C. Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston: Benjamin Harris for Samuel Phillips, 1693), 14-16.

⁴⁹ T. Gataker, *Of The Nature And Use Of Lots* (London: Edward Griffin to be sold by William Bladen, 1619), e.g. 33, 106, 117.

⁵⁰ N. Homes, *Demonologie, And Theologie* (London: Thomas Roycroft to be sold by John Martin & John Ridley, 1650), 17, 40, 80 and *passim*, quotation at 80.

⁵¹ W. Foster, *Hoplocrisma-Spongy: Or, A Sponge to wipe away the Weapon-Salve* (London: Thomas Cotes for John Grove, 1631), 18; F. Higginson, *A Brief Relation Of The Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (London: T. R. for H. R., 1653), 18-19.

⁵² *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, B4^{r-v}.

often – a total of thirteen times, making Roberts the most frequently-cited English treatise in Bernard's work; largely, however, due to the Roberts' report of a specific trial rather than his theoretical discussions.⁵³ Bernard relied on Cotta for his medical knowledge, and refers his reader to both Cotta's books for more information on these aspects of the discourse.⁵⁴ Cooper is cited just a handful of times, largely as a source of anecdotes rather than ideas.⁵⁵ The work of Cotta and Roberts was still being read later in the century, however; John Brinley and Francis Hutchinson both make reference to Cotta,⁵⁶ while Baxter included Roberts' narrative of Mary Smith's alleged witchcrafts in *The Kingdom Of Darkness* (1688).⁵⁷ Of the three, Ady only mentioned Cooper, and he was scornful in his assessment. Ady thought Cooper 'very silly, blinde and ignorant'; and though Ady gave him a relatively detailed confutation, he did not consider Cooper's work to be of significance.⁵⁸ We saw in 2.2 how poorly Cooper's work fared on the marketplace; this seems to be corroborated by the scarcity of references to the work. I have found no citations of these authors outside witchcraft writing, although Burton had read Cotta's *Short Discoverie*.⁵⁹

Bernard's own writing on witchcraft was not utilised by later writers, though it nevertheless proved influential, for three important reasons. Firstly, it was read by Michael Dalton, and sections from it, along with references to the original, were included in the expanded section on witchcraft in the third edition of Dalton's *Countray Justice* (1630).⁶⁰ Dalton's work, a handbook for JPs, was influential, and frequently reprinted. The section on witchcraft, including the references to Bernard, was copied verbatim from Dalton in the pamphlet *The Lawes against Witches*, possibly published by someone involved with the East Anglian witch-trials.⁶¹ Secondly, Bernard's treatise had an even more immediate influence. John Stearne, a key architect of the East-Anglian witch-hunt, wrote a brief tract justifying his actions – and apart from reports of the confessions he and Hopkins had obtained, the tract is entirely copied from Bernard's treatise.⁶² It is a work of careful and sustained plagiarism, demonstrating that Stearne knew Bernard's work well. It could be argued that Stearne's knowledge of witchcraft theory through Bernard – and Bernard's reading –

⁵³ *A Guide To Grand-Iury Men*, 57, 104, 125 and *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-20, 97-98, 173, 175, 215.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 99, 122, 131, 182.

⁵⁶ J. Brinley, *A Discovery Of The Impostures Of Witches And Astrologers* (London: for John Wright to be sold by Edward Milward, 1680), 60; Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 25.

⁵⁷ R. Baxter, *The Kingdom Of Darkness* (London: for Nathaniel Crouch, 1688), 133-40.

⁵⁸ *A Candle in the Dark*, 40, 151-54 (mis-numbered 162).

⁵⁹ Burton, *Anatomy*, 125. Cotta's treatise is also cited by John Wilkins (see below).

⁶⁰ M. Dalton, *The Countray Justice* (3rd ed.; London: the assigns of John More, 1630), 273-75.

⁶¹ *The Lawes against Witches* (London: for R. W. 1645).

⁶² See S. F. Davies, 'Introduction' in id. (ed.), *The Discovery of Witches and Witchcraft – The Writings of the Witchfinders* (Brighton: Puckrel Publishing, 2007), xxi-xxiii.

affected the outcome of the witch-hunt Stearne helped instigate. Finally, like Perkins, Bernard was read by Cotton Mather.⁶³ Although not widely influential within printed witchcraft discourse, therefore, Bernard's work had real influence on witch-trials.

As for the treatises inspired by the East-Anglian witch-hunt itself, there is little sign that they were read. Ady came across Gaule's *Select Cases of Conscience* soon after finishing his own treatise, and briefly mentioned it; he criticises Gaule's interpretation of Scripture, but acknowledges Gaule as '(in his zeal for God, & in his Religious hatred to the barbarous cruelty of this age, in persecuting the poor and innocent) much inclining to the Truth, and I cannot say of him, but his intentions were godly'.⁶⁴ Webster knew Gaule's book, and scorned it, along with Perkins, Bernard and Gifford; 'who have from one to another lickt up the Vomit of the first Broacher of this vain and false opinion, and without due consideration have laboured to obtrude it upon others.'⁶⁵ Cotton Mather knew Gaule as well, as did Hutchinson.⁶⁶ As for the witchfinders themselves, their later fame was, of course, wide; but there are few references to their writings in print. The most extensive is John Dunton's *The Informer's Doom* (1683), which re-used some of the material from Hopkins' *Discovery*, including some of the woodcuts, in an attack on witches which formed part of Dunton's wider attack on 'all those grand and bitter Enemies, that disturb and molest all Kingdoms and States, throughout the *Christian World*.'⁶⁷ Apart from this there is only a solitary citation of Hopkins by Hutchinson.⁶⁸ Given the fame of Hopkins' tract this may come as something of a surprise, but when one considers the brevity and lack of originality of the work it is less so. It also fits in with the general finding that works on witchcraft were predominantly mined for their examples; Hopkins did not provide any of great detail.

Ady's work was not widely cited, although it was influential on Webster, who transcribed passages from it.⁶⁹ Ady's treatise too, however, would go on to have a starring role in the trial at Salem; this time a tragic one. The last act before condemnation of one of the accused, George Burroughs, was to present a paper to the court containing words to the effect that '*there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to Torment other people at a distance.*' The passage was transcribed from Ady's *A*

⁶³ *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 16-17.

⁶⁴ *A Candle in the Dark*, 163 (i.e. 155), and see 163-65 (i.e. 155-57).

⁶⁵ *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft*, 36.

⁶⁶ Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 14, 16; Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 61-63.

⁶⁷ J. Dunton, *The Informer's Doom* (London: for John Dunton, 1683), 61-73, quotation from title-page.

⁶⁸ *Historical Essay*, 69.

⁶⁹ *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft*, A3^r, 26, 106, 124, 133.

Candle in the Dark. It did not save Burroughs' life.⁷⁰ It is another example of how witchcraft treatises could go on to play roles in witch-trials that were very real.

Then there are the treatises to which no citations have been found: Holland, Mason and Filmer. The most curious is Holland – perhaps his work was simply eclipsed by that of fellow Cambridge Puritan Perkins, published less than two decades after Holland's. Sharpe calls Holland's treatise one of the 'most important' English demonological works, but this is not borne out by contemporary evidence, an example of the importance of studying the reception of these works directly.⁷¹ Mason, an obscure author who published nothing else and about whom nothing else is known, is a more easily explicable case. It may just be that Mason's *Anatomie* added nothing new to the debate, and provided no examples for later authors. The same is true of Filmer; in addition his brief polemic appeared at a time when Royalist literature was not in great favour. As we have seen, Filmer's tract was published in a clearly Royalist environment, despite its anonymity – this may have put readers off and, come the Restoration, the tiny work had been forgotten. The tract was reprinted and finally assigned to Filmer in a posthumous collection of his works in 1679, but there are still no references to it that I have discovered.⁷²

In 1646 theologian John Wilkins published the second edition of his handbook for preachers, *Ecclesiastes, Or, A Discourse concerning the Gift Of Preaching ... Shewing The most proper Rules and Directions, for Method, Invention, Books, Expression, whereby a Minister may be furnished with such abilities as may make him a Workman that needs not to be ashamed*. It consisted predominantly of a list of suggested reading on every conceivable topic a minister might need to know about. Under 'Witchcraft' we find Perkins' *Discourse*, James' *Daemonologie*, Cotta's *Triall*, somewhat unexpectedly John Weemes' *Treatise Of The Fovre Degenerate Sonnes* (1636), and – even more unexpectedly – 'Scots discovery of witches'.⁷³ The list is an interesting indication of those books considered both available and useful to a preacher in the 1640s. Although the inclusion of Scot is surprising, the listed titles confirm the impressions gained from a consideration of citations. Wilkins' list underlines the prominence of Scot, Perkins and James. These were the English works that were most widely read – Scot in particular, among the most widely read of all works on witchcraft. Generally, however, this study supports the conclusions of 2.2 and 3.1, that English works on witchcraft did not have as great an impact as their authors may have wished. The

⁷⁰ Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 65. See also Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, xv.

⁷¹ *English Witchcraft*, I, xv.

⁷² R. Filmer, *The Free-holders Grand Inquest* (London: [s. n.] 1679).

⁷³ J. Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, Or, A Discourse concerning the Gift Of Preaching* (2nd ed.; London: Miles Flesher for Samuel Gellibrand, 1646), 83.

prominence of critical citations stands out too: these works were not read passively, but with a critical eye.

News pamphlets were also cited in print, though less often than treatises. Most widely-read was the *Warboys* pamphlet of 1593. Cotta and Ady both knew it; it was one of Bernard's main pamphlet sources – he cited it a total of nineteen times, mining it for illustrative examples in discussions of, for instance, the Devil's mark, remedies for witchcraft, or that some witches could both 'bewitch' and 'vnbewitch'.⁷⁴ Thomas Heywood referred readers of his *Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* to the pamphlet as an example of recent history, 'To giue the histories past the more credit'; that is, classical stories of witchcraft seemed more plausible when similar recent English examples could be provided.⁷⁵ Henry More had read the 'long and tedious' account, and took examples from it in his *Antidote Against Atheisme* (1653).⁷⁶ Indeed the pamphlet was still being read in the eighteenth century – it was one of the works reprinted in Richard Boulton's *A Compleat History Of Magick, Sorcery, And Witchcraft* (1715), getting a special mention on the title-page as 'that famous one... the WITCHES of *Warboise*'.⁷⁷ Hutchinson devoted a whole chapter to the Warboys case; 'The Witches of *Warbois* are well known', he wrote.⁷⁸ As well as being read by theorists, the pamphlet had a more direct influence on witchcraft belief: it was read in Nottingham by a woman involved with the William Sommers possession and later by two demoniacs directly, Thomas Darling and Anne Gunter, who both borrowed ideas from it for their 'possessions'.⁷⁹

Similarly well-known was Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*. Both Cotta and Cooper refer to it, Cotta as evidence of the efficacy of image magic, and Cooper as evidence of the multitude of witches abounding in England.⁸⁰ Once again Bernard relied on it heavily; there are twenty-one references to the Lancashire trials in his treatise; once again they are illustrative examples in support of his arguments.⁸¹ Edward Fairfax had also read the

⁷⁴ Cotta, *Triall*, 77; Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, 169; Bernard, *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 111-13, 194-95, 156 and *passim*.

⁷⁵ *Hierarchie*, 597-98.

⁷⁶ H. More, *An Antidote Against Atheisme* (London: Roger Daniel, 1653), 116.

⁷⁷ R. Boulton, *A Compleat history Of Magick, Sorcery And Witchcraft* (London: for E. Curll, J. Pemberton & W. Taylor, 1715), title-page.

⁷⁸ *Historical Essay*, 101.

⁷⁹ On the influence of the Warboys pamphlet in the Sommers case, see Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print*, 84 & 188 n.20; on its influence on Darling, see *ibid.*, 110 & 115. On the pamphlet's influence on Gunter, see J. Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter* (London: Profile Books, 1999), 7-8, 62.

⁸⁰ Cotta, *Triall*, 90; Cooper, *Mystery*, 15.

⁸¹ *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 92, 93, 104 and *passim*.

account.⁸² Michael Dalton used Potts' pamphlet as a source of information on witchcraft, writing:

Now against these witches the Iustices of peace may not alwaies expect direct euidence, seeing all their works are the works of darknesse, and no witnesses present with them to accuse them [this line a quotation from Potts]; And therefore for their better discouery, I thought good here to insert certaine obseruations out of the booke of discouery of the Witches that were arraigned at Lancaster, *ann. Dom.* 1612.⁸³

As mentioned above, Dalton's book was influential; this meant that, particularly through Dalton's sixth observation – that the evidence of children was acceptable in witch-trials – Potts' pamphlet set a legal precedent for future prosecutions. As with the references to Bernard mentioned above, this section was copied into *The Lawes against Witches*. Webster knew about the Lancashire trials, as did Mather.⁸⁴ Outside of witchcraft writing, Gee borrowed the example of the false witchcraft accusations made by Grace Sowerbutts and her priestly instructor as an example of the impostures of Catholics in *The Foot out of the Snare* – both successful and unsuccessful accusations of witchcraft could be influential as sources; this is also another example of the broader debates witchcraft writing could play a role in.⁸⁵ We recall that both Potts and *Warboys* were found in more libraries than other pamphlets, corroborating these results; they were also produced by more prominent Stationers than other pamphlets, as discussed in 2.1, a fact which may partially explain their prominence here.

The author who relied most heavily on news pamphlets was Bernard. As well as those already mentioned, Bernard made sixteen references to the *Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, eight to *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed* and seven to *The Witches Of Northamptonshire*, all for illustrative examples.⁸⁶ Bernard also made use of the two reports of the Lewis Gaufreddy case, the pamphlet report *The Life And Death of Lewis Gaufreddy* and Michaelis' *Admirable History* – Bernard being the only English witchcraft writer to indicate that he had read this Catholic work.⁸⁷ He uses it as a source for examples without questioning the veracity of its narrative, although he does acknowledge

⁸² E. Fairfax, *Dæmonologia*, ed. W. Grainge (London: Frederick Muller, 1971), 93.

⁸³ M. Dalton, *The Countrey Iustice* (London: for the Society of Stationers, 1618), 243; cf. Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, Z2r.

⁸⁴ Webster, *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft*, 35-36, 68, 80, 275-76; Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 63.

⁸⁵ J. Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (London: H. L. for Robert Milbourne, 1624), 52-53.

⁸⁶ *A Guide To Grand-Irry Men*, 111, 113, 174, 178-79 and *passim*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 100-1, 105, 103, 107 and *passim*. Hutchinson had also read Michaelis; *Historical Essay*, 35.

that it was ‘set out by Papists’ and that Michaelis was ‘a Frier’.⁸⁸ All these works are cited indiscriminately by Bernard alongside more scholarly sources.

News of the East-Anglian trials of the 1640s also provided writers with examples. Henry More knew Davenport’s *Witches of Hvntingdon*, taking an example from it; More also borrowed examples from the later pamphlet *Wonderfull News from the North*.⁸⁹ Baxter knew Davenport’s pamphlet, as well as H. F.’s *A true and exact Relation*; Hutchinson too had read the latter.⁹⁰ Baxter also made several references to Bower’s *Doctor Lamb Revived*, as did More, in a later work, and Glanvill.⁹¹

News pamphlets were an important source for witchcraft writers. Real-life examples of witchcraft were hard to come by – or perhaps were not considered reliable – outside of print; we rarely, if ever, find witchcraft cases cited by writers on the subject which had not been published in some form or another (except for cases in which the author had personal experience). It was their publication in print that allowed the trials reported in these pamphlets to have the influence that they did, and their publication played an important role in the development of witchcraft discourse. Fewer pamphlets may have been cited – presumably they were more difficult to get hold of at later dates, given their ephemerality – but they could be just as important as treatises when they were cited.

It was not just works printed in England that could be influential. As we saw in 3.1, English libraries held far more Continental works than they did English works. The same predominance of imported works is found in a study of citations.

As the first to write on the theory of witchcraft in England, Scot’s opponents in print came almost solely from the Continent, and his demonological reading was wide. He discussed, for example, Nider’s *Formicarius* (first printed c.1470), Spina’s *De Strigibus*, Paolo Grillando’s *Tractatus de hereticis et sortilegiis* (1527), Hemmingsen’s *Admonitio* and Daneau.⁹² His *bête noire*, however, was Institoris and Sprenger’s *Malleus Maleficarum*. Scot knew the ‘Mallet to braine witches’, as he translates it, well; it was the work he blamed as the foundation for all later witchcraft writing, subsequent authors merely ‘scratching out of *M. Mal.* the substance of all their arguments’. ‘And yet God knoweth’, Scot wrote, ‘their whole

⁸⁸ *A Gvide To Grand-Irry Men*, 100, 103.

⁸⁹ *Antidote*, 125-26, 116, 121.

⁹⁰ Baxter, *Kingdom Of Darkness*, 159-62, 148-59; Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 37.

⁹¹ Baxter, *Kingdom Of Darkness*, 10-18; id., *The Certainty Of The Worlds of Spirits* (London: for T. Parkhurst & J. Salisbury, 1691), 54; H. More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (London: J. Flesher to be sold by W. Morden, 1656), 48; J. Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (London: for J. Collins & S. Lownds, 1681), 23, 43.

⁹² *Discoverie*, 23, 43, 60 and *passim*.

booke containeth [nothing] but stinking lies and poperie.’⁹³ Along with the *Mallens*, Scot’s main foe was Bodin; Scot attacked the ‘grosse ignorance’ on display in Bodin’s ‘booke of diuelish madnesse’ throughout the *Discoverie*, and took many examples of the practices of ‘witchmongers’ from both works.⁹⁴ Scot was also influenced by Weyer. Scot went further than Weyer in scepticism, but the latter’s information on magical practices proved useful to Scot, and he incorporated much of it into the *Discoverie*, predominantly information on demons as well as ‘various charms and illustrative tales.’⁹⁵

Holland relied on three Continental witchcraft authors throughout his *Treatise*: Bodin, Daneau and Hemmingsen.⁹⁶ Unlike Scot, Holland was in agreement with Bodin, however, relying on him as an authority with no comment on his religion. Holland’s use of Hemmingsen and Daneau, two of the most prominent Protestant demonologists, is less surprising. Daneau’s *De Veneficis* (1574) had been published in an English translation in 1575, but the original Latin edition was more often cited.

Roberts relied almost solely on Continental Catholic works in his brief tract; the only English author he cited, as we have seen, was Perkins, while the only other Protestant demonologist he cited was Daneau;⁹⁷ although he had read Weyer, with distaste, referring to him as ‘an aduocate to plead the cause of Witches’.⁹⁸ Roberts relied heavily on the work of Bodin, Binsfeld and Rémy.⁹⁹ They were used for examples to support his arguments, although their citation was submerged in voluminous citations from more general theological and classical authorities.

Bernard, as we have seen, was another author who relied heavily on his copious reading; the works he cited most often were Continental works. Bernard cited Bodin thirty-three times, far more than any English work on witchcraft.¹⁰⁰ The author most relied upon by Bernard, however, was Del Rio. Bernard cites Del Rio’s treatise thirty-seven times, using him both for examples and as an authority on points of theory.¹⁰¹ Bernard also used the work of Daneau, Rémy and, as we have seen, Michaelis.¹⁰² He too was familiar with Weyer’s work, which he condemned alongside Scot (albeit more moderately than most).¹⁰³

⁹³ Ibid., 470-71 and *passim*.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 93, 172 and *passim*.

⁹⁵ R. Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. B. Nicholson (Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, 1973), 553, and see Nicholson’s appendices, ‘Extracts from Wier’ for details.

⁹⁶ *Treatise*, A3r, A4r, B4r and *passim*.

⁹⁷ *Treatise*, e.g. 12, 14, 74.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 73; see also 4, 26.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 31, 74 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ *A Guide To Grand-Ivry Men*, 14, 51, 57 and *passim*.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 26, 56, 62 and *passim*.

¹⁰² Ibid., 179, 196.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 267.

Filmer also engaged with Del Rio in some depth, rigorously attacking him; Filmer's strategy was largely one of comparison, however; by setting a Jesuit alongside Perkins and conflating their views, Filmer further dragged Perkins into the mud.¹⁰⁴ Filmer also knew the work of Weyer, citing his description of the swimming ordeal.¹⁰⁵

Authors such as Gifford, Perkins and Cotta chose to rely predominantly on Scripture, and theologians such as Augustine and Calvin, but there are signs that they too were familiar with Continental demonology. Perkins knew Rémy's work; it was Rémy that Perkins chose to cite as a source of witches' confessions, rather than any English trials or treatises.¹⁰⁶ Cotta knew the work of Institoris and Binsfeld, as well as Weyer.¹⁰⁷ Gifford cited only Scripture, although there is an intriguing correction in a copy of his *Discourse* in Cambridge University Library: Gifford writes, 'those that vnderstand the Latine tonge, may very wel satisfy themselues with that which wearines with great iudgement and trauell hath written touching this argument'; a seventeenth-century reader has corrected 'wearines' to 'Wyerus' (i.e. Weyer).¹⁰⁸ This makes more sense than the original, although there is no authority for the correction. Gifford's work is certainly very similar to that of Weyer, and it seems likely he had read it. This contemporary reader certainly assumed that he had.

The author of the pamphlet report of the St Osyth trial knew Bodin, and incorporated a translation of a passage from Bodin's work in the pamphlet's preface.¹⁰⁹ As Gibson writes, there are 'echoes of Bodin throughout the pamphlet.'¹¹⁰ The latter is particularly significant, as it is possible that the author of the pamphlet was also heavily involved in the trials themselves, up to that point England's largest witch-trial.¹¹¹ This may well be an example of a Continental author having a direct influence on a specific witch-trial.

After the Restoration, Continental authors eclipsed their English counterparts in the citation stakes. William Drage, for instance, cited Rémy, Bodin, Grillando, Institoris and Weyer, but no English authors.¹¹² Wagstaffe cited Institoris, Rémy and Del Rio – but no English authors.¹¹³ Casaubon suggested that Bodin and Rémy were 'most known, I think,

¹⁰⁴ *Advertisement*, A3^v and *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, A3^v.

¹⁰⁶ *Discourse*, 187.

¹⁰⁷ *Triall*, 52, 58, 76.

¹⁰⁸ *Discourse*, CUL Syn.7.58.73, B1^v.

¹⁰⁹ See Gibson, *Early Modern Witches*, 76; *id.*, *Reading Witchcraft*, 131-32.

¹¹⁰ *Early Modern Witches*, 76, n.6.

¹¹¹ See Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft*, 131-33.

¹¹² W. Drage, *Daimonmageia* (London: J. Dover, 1665), 5, 6, 17 and *passim*.

¹¹³ J. Wagstaffe, *The Question Of Witchcraft Debated* (London: [s. n.] 1669), 30, 38, 55.

and read.¹¹⁴ He had also read, and cited, Grillando, Weyer, Del Rio and the *Malleus*.¹¹⁵ Webster knew the work of Weyer, as well as Daneau, Del Rio, Rémy, Bodin, Institoris and Nider, among others (the last three being ‘nothing but lyes and forgeries, and deserve no credit at all’).¹¹⁶ Brinley cited Bodin and Del Rio, and Baxter knew Bodin, Rémy, Grillando, Daneau and the *Malleus*.¹¹⁷ Thomas Shadwell, although not a believer himself, did his research on the subject for his play *The Lancashire Witches And Tegue o Dively The Irish Priest* (1691), citing the *Malleus*, Bodin, Del Rio, Rémy, Weyer, Elich and others, including a rare reference to Francesco Guazzo’s *Compendium Maleficarum* (1608) – Shadwell cited no English authors other than Scot and Jonson’s *Sad Shepherd* (though he does make several references to ‘all modern Witchmongers in England’, without naming them).¹¹⁸ Within writing on witchcraft, therefore, the most frequently-cited Continental authors were Bodin, Weyer, Grillando and Daneau, though they were not cited in as many works as Scot, James, Perkins and Cotta. They were, however, cited more frequently within the works which made use of them.

Outside writing on witchcraft, Continental authors were cited far more often than English authors. Here the most widely cited Continental demonologies were those of Del Rio, Weyer and Bodin. Del Rio was frequently relied upon, for example, by Gataker in his writing on lots, Burton in his study of melancholy, and J. B. in his *A View Of The People Of The Whole World*, for examples to support theoretical points.¹¹⁹ Michael Drayton, George Hakewill, John Trapp and William Prynne cited Del Rio as an authority: respectively, on spirits, on a race of men who could see into the earth itself, on ancient wisdom, and in support of the suggestion that the drinking of healths was invented by the Devil.¹²⁰ Robert Baron, in the notes to his *Mirza. A Tragedie* (1647), cited Del Rio as an authority on witchcraft, along with Ovid and Jonson’s *Masque of Queenes*.¹²¹ There were many more who cited him.¹²² Bodin was also a regular authority for Gataker and Burton; Henry More too

¹¹⁴ *Of Credulity*, 169.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38, 42, 88, 89.

¹¹⁶ Webster, *The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft*, 36, 58 and *passim*, quotation at 58.

¹¹⁷ Brinley, *A Discovery*, 17, 60, 61; Baxter, *The Certainty Of The Worlds of Spirits*, 2.

¹¹⁸ *The Lancashire Witches*, 14, 15, 50 and notes, *passim*, quotation at 75.

¹¹⁹ Gataker, *Of Lots*, 1, 7, 33 and *passim*; Burton, *Anatomy*, e.g. 64, 69, 214; J. B., *A View Of The People Of The Whole World* (London: William Hunt, 1654), e.g. 404, 410, 440.

¹²⁰ M. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: Humphrey Lownes for M. Lownes, I. Browne, I. Helme & John Busby, 1612), 84; G. Hakewill, *The Vanitie Of The Eye* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1615), 83; J. Trapp, *A Commentary Or Exposition Upon All the Epistles And The Revelation of John* (London: A. M. for John Bellamy, 1647), 719; W. Prynne, *Healthes: Sicknesse* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1628), 18, 21.

¹²¹ R. Baron, *Mirza. A Tragedie* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1647), 223.

¹²² Examples include: J. Selden, *The Dvello or Single Combat* (London: George Elde for I. Helme, 1610), 243; T. Beard, *A Retractive From The Romish Religion* (London: William Stansby to be sold by Henry Fetherstone, 1616), 430; F. Rous, *Archæologia Atticæ* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield for Edward Forest, 1637), 51; J. Ferrand, *EPOTOMANIA Or A Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love* (Oxford:

regularly cited Bodin in his *Antidote Against Atheisme*.¹²³ Jonson, John Donne, Henry Lawrence, Alexander Ross and Elias Ashmole all took examples from the *Demonomanie* – on various supernatural topics, but only Jonson’s and Ashmole’s were to do with harmful witchcraft.¹²⁴ Many of the same authors also cited Weyer, also a source of anecdotes and examples; for example, on sorcerer-popes, on plagues caused intentionally, or on the Piper of Hamlyn.¹²⁵

Rémy was relatively widely-cited; not as often as Del Rio, Bodin or Weyer, but more than any English author. A popular anecdote taken from Rémy’s *Daemonolatreia* was of some witches to whom the Devil brought ‘many boxes of currant coyne... but when they came to vse them, they proued nothing but withered leaues.’¹²⁶ More, Burton, Casaubon and Heywood all cited Rémy as an authority.¹²⁷ Next most widely-cited, though they were not in the same league as the previous four, were Grillando’s *De hereticis*,¹²⁸ and Institoris and Sprenger’s *Malleus*,¹²⁹ the latter being the only notable discrepancy with the findings from contemporary libraries – perhaps it was often bought but not read (supporting the

Leonard Lichfield to be sold by Edward Forrest, 1640), 155, 157, 176; J. Gumbleden, *Christ Tempted: The Diuel Conquered. Or, A short and plain Exposition on a part of the fourth Chapter St. Matthew’s Gospel* (London: for Simon Miller, 1657), 21.

¹²³ Gataker, *Of Lots*, 7, 34, 63 and *passim*; Burton, *Anatomy*, e.g. 72, 79, 268; More, *Antidote*, e.g. 109, 128, 132.

¹²⁴ J. Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr* (London: William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1610), 84; Jonson, *The Masque Of Queenes*, e.g. A4^v, B2^r; H. Lawrence, *An History of Angells* (London: M. S. to be sold by William Nealand, 1649), 47; A. Ross, *Leviathan Drawn out with A Hook* (London: Thomas Newcomb for Richard Royston, 1653), 79; E. Ashmole, *The Way to Bliss* (London: John Grismond for Nathaniel Brook, 1658), 81. Other examples include: Harvey, *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Propheesies*, 51; A. Cooke, *VVorke For A Masse-priest* (London: William Jones, 1617), A4^r; J. Gregory, *Notes And Observations Vpon Some Passages Of Scripture* (Oxford: Henry Hall for Edward Forrest, 1646), 39; E. Leigh, *A Systeme Or Body of Divinity* (London: A. M. for William Lee, 1654), 387; J. Hall, *The Invisible World, Discovered to Spirituall Eyes* (London: Ellen Cotes for John Place, 1659), 172.

¹²⁵ L. Evans, *The Hatefull Hypocrisie, and rebellion of the Romish prelatie* (London: [s. n.] 1570), 15; W. Charleton, *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana* (London: Thomas Newcomb for Thomas Heath, 1654), 236; Hakewill, *The Vanitie Of The Eye*, 62. Other examples include: Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, 84; Burton, *Anatomy*, 60, 64, 65 and *passim*; Foster, *Hoplocrisma-Spongys*, 19; Rous, *Archaeologia Attica*, 51; Ross, *Leviathan Drawn out with A Hook*, 79.

¹²⁶ J. Preston, *A Sermon Of Spirituall Life And Death* (London: Thomas Cotes for Michael Sparke, 1630), 7; also cited in Lawrence, *History of Angells*, 101; P. Goodwin, *The Mystery Of Dreames* (London: A. M. for Francis Tyton, 1658), 61.

¹²⁷ More, *Antidote*, e.g. 112, 114, 130-31; Burton, *Anatomy*, 290; Heywood, *Hierarchie*, 471, 545; M. Casaubon, *A True & Faithful Relation Of What passed for many Yeers Between D^r. John Dee... and Some Spirits* (London: D. Maxwell for T. Garthwait, 1659), 8. Other examples include: Jonson, *The Masque Of Queenes*, e.g. A4^v, B1^r; L. A. Seneca, *Medea*, trans. E. S. (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1648), 107; J. B., *A View Of The People Of The Whole World*, 515, 522.

¹²⁸ Cited in Harvey, *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Propheesies*, 72; Deacon & Walker, *Dialogicall Discourses*, 92; Jonson, *The Masque Of Queenes*, B2^r; Heywood, *Hierarchie*, 259, 471, 606; Foster, *Hoplocrisma-Spongys*, 8; More, *Antidote*, 127.

¹²⁹ Cited in Burton, *Anatomy*, e.g. 70, 125, 253; Jonson, *The Masque Of Queenes*, e.g. B2^r, C1^r; Heywood, *Hierarchie*, 471, 539; Hakewill, *The Vanitie Of The Eye*, 69; J. B., *A View Of The People Of The Whole World*, 521; N. Bernard, *A Looking-Glasse for Rebellion* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1644), 12.

suggestion that it was purchased for its notoriety). Nider, Daneau and Girolamo Menghi were also cited a handful of times.¹³⁰

These results generally confirm the pattern seen in 3.1, that Continental works were read more widely than English works. We can only speculate as to the reason. Perhaps Continental works were considered more authoritative; certainly it is easy to see why a compendious work like Del Rio's *Disquisitionum* would be considered to have more authority and encyclopaedic value than a tiny duodecimo like Bernard's *Gvide*. Perhaps, as suggested in 3.1, Continental works were seen as removed from ideological programmes by English readers (never mind whether they were so in truth), less tainted by polemic than the works of, say, notorious Puritans like Gifford. Perhaps, again, it was simply greater availability and visibility through higher numbers of editions. Whatever the case, Continental works, both Protestant and Catholic, were read widely and approvingly.

These results also add a new dimension to the findings of 3.1, by offering information on what these works, English and Continental, were read *for*. In the majority of cases it was not theory but examples for which they were cited – hence news pamphlets were cited indiscriminately from treatises. The distinction so often created by modern scholars simply was not present. That they were cited for examples rather than theory is further evidence, I suggest, for a critique of the notion of a unified witchcraft discourse. Works on witchcraft were cited by their successors not because of a sense that they were operating within a cohesive genre of writing but because they needed examples. Witchcraft was theorised independently – or rather, as part of much wider discourses – but to find material examples authors needed to turn to print. As mentioned in 1.1, to support their *theory* the treatise authors turned more often to Scripture or to writing and ideas outside the witchcraft debate. Additionally, in a large number of cases the examples and anecdotes cited, from both English and Continental writing, are nothing to do with witchcraft traditionally defined, but touch on a wide range of other subjects; further evidence that the discourse of witchcraft reached into many areas and involved no one, narrow definition. Further reason, in fact, to doubt the very existence of such a coherent concept as ‘the discourse of witchcraft’.

This survey also reinforces the importance of print to the belief in witchcraft in general. Several works, both treatises and pamphlets, had real influence on later trials, both

¹³⁰ Nider e.g. by: Heywood, *Hierarchie*, 475, 554; Bernard, *A Looking-Glasse for Rebellion*, 12-13. Daneau e.g. by: Harvey, *A Discursive Probleme concerning Propheesies*, 51; J. B., *A View Of The People Of The VVhole VVorld*, 524. Menghi e.g. by: Burton, *Anatomy*, 70, 292, 295; Donne, *Pseido-Martyr*, 39, 109, 124.

from the perspective of those in the clergy and judiciary orchestrating the trials, and from the perspective of popular belief. One again it was examples, rather than theoretical concepts, that writing on witchcraft was mined for. This suggests not only the importance that Continental trials had for English witchcraft belief, but the importance that the printed records of English witchcraft trials had on later belief. It was a belief in which print played a major role.

3.4 Private responses

The most direct forms of evidence readers could leave of their experience of reading are the marks they left on the pages of the works themselves. Readers' marks are 'traces of their engagement with and appropriation of early modern texts.'¹ These private responses (not that they may not have been intended to be read by others, only that they were not published in any formal sense) offer the best possible opportunity of gaining 'detailed and intimate knowledge of how Renaissance readers confronted and manipulated the written word.'² Although a study of such activity may not quite catch readers in the act of reading, it comes as close as is possible. A number of studies of such markings have been undertaken in recent years, usually of marks in particular works or by particular readers.³ A survey of a larger number of works by multiple authors, marked by multiple readers, makes up for what it loses in specificity by offering greater broadness and depth. As has become apparent, witchcraft writing is a body of work which includes a range of different styles and genres of writing, thus allowing for a wider view of annotation practices.

Marginalia are notoriously opaque as a subject of study, difficult to interpret and, in many cases, difficult to read. Not everyone who read the works left marks in them; as well as being partial for more practical reasons (non-survival or unavailability of copies, etc.), a study of marginalia is always partial as a study of readers, as it cannot encompass those who left no marks. As we shall see, readers often left just enough trace to show that they had been there, but little else; these kinds of markings can be the most tantalising – and the most infuriating – of all. As with bindings, much of the evidence has been destroyed by later owners – a significant proportion of the contemporary annotations discovered were cropped by later binders, many to the point of illegibility; some were even deliberately washed out. Nevertheless, the evidence that does remain offers the most valuable reward

¹ Hackel, *Reading Material*, 195.

² W. H. Sherman, *John Dee – The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 60.

³ Examples include: Hackel, *Reading Material*; Sherman, *John Dee*; L. Jardine & A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present*, 129 (1990); Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*; F. Schurink, "Like a hand in the margine of a booke": William Blount's marginalia and the politics of Sidney's *Arcadia*, *The Review of English Studies*, 59, 238 (2007); R. C. Evans, *Habits of Mind – Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995); S. N. Zwicker, 'Reading the Margins – Politics and the Habits of Appropriation' in K. Sharpe & S. N. Zwicker (eds), *Refiguring Revolutions – Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (London: University of California Press, 1998); S. N. Zwicker, "What every literate man once knew": tracing readers in early modern England' in R. Myers, M. Harris & G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (London: Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2005); A. Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', *The Library*, 9, 1 (2008); Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems*. See also Sherman, *Used Books*.

of all: a direct glimpse, however fragmentary, of the ways in which early modern readers reacted to, used and abused books about witchcraft.

Around 25% of copies consulted had annotations on the text – not including ownership inscriptions, graffiti or corrections based on errata, but including non-verbal marks (underlining, manicules, dashes and other deictic marks). This percentage is smaller than that found by William Sherman in his survey of marginalia in the Huntington Library's *STC* collection, given that he does not include non-verbal marks in his 'just over 20 percent'; suggesting that witchcraft books as a whole were less likely to be annotated than works on other subjects.⁴ Annotations are more often found in treatises than news pamphlets, by some distance (and never found in plays), although, in general, more copies of the treatises survive.

The work most commonly annotated of the sample examined was Scot's *Discoverie*. While we must be wary of drawing any statistical conclusions from such a limited sample, the sheer regularity with which contemporary marginalia are found in Scot's work might offer a somewhat firm grounding for the suggestion that it was a work more likely to inspire a reaction, or more likely to be studied closely, than the other treatises under consideration – particularly given that the finding is corroborated by the evidence of 3.1 and 3.3. In addition, copies of Scot's treatise are regularly found to have been annotated by a number of different hands, unlike the other works which, when they are found to have been annotated at all, are almost always annotated by one (contemporary) hand alone. The most complete manuscript response to any author, in fact, was to Scot – not marginalia but an apparently professional scribal copy of the *Discoverie*, now in the Sloane collection in the British Library.⁵ The copy is abridged, with some editing and paraphrasing, but the majority of it is copied verbatim; sadly there is no commentary. I have come across no other examples of this practice – personal(?) scribal copies of scholarly treatises – and its purpose is unknown. Whatever it was for, it clearly shows a reader very much in favour of Scot's work.

Indeed, most striking about the annotations in copies of Scot is how many of them appear to indicate a level of support for Scot's sceptical position. One seventeenth-century reader, for example, although uncomfortable with Scot's insulting language – writing at one point, 'What needes thes[e] bitter wordes. proue or disp[roue] and so haue don[e]' – noted a page later, next to Scot's discussion of the witches' sabbat, 'It is likely that many of those

⁴ Sherman, *Used Books*, 5.

⁵ BL MS Sloane 160.

things are but delusions. For so the deuill feedeth his fooles with shadowes of pleasure.’⁶ A scepticism perhaps more in line with that of Weyer or Gifford (which still put the Devil at the root of things) than Scot, but scepticism nonetheless. In another copy, a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand has marked and annotated a number of passages – fascinatingly, all but one in Scot’s radical ‘Discourse on Deuils and Spirits’, and including some of the passages suggesting a metaphorical interpretation of spirits.⁷ The reader seems in agreement with Scot when, for example, next to a passage in which Scot discusses the pagan and Catholic distinction between ghosts and souls, we find the annotation: ‘a folish diffe[rence] betwene y^e so[ul] & ghost of a m[an] common to y^e Pa[pists] wth y^e heathen’.⁸ In a copy in Senate House Library an almost certainly contemporary hand has underlined various phrases, mostly at the beginning of the work, and mostly of a sceptical bent; such as ‘the true signification of witchcraft is cousenage’ and Scot’s pithy summary of the doctrine of providence: ‘we our selues are the causes of our afflictions’.⁹

A key passage summing up the absurdity of ascribing power to witches, and the insult to God that doing so represents, is marked in several copies. Scot writes:

What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches? & yet they are women that neuer went to schoole in their liues, nor had any teachers... poore, and therefore not able to make any prouision of metals or stones, &c: whereby to bring to passe strange matters... heauie, and commonlie lame, and therefore vnapt to flie in the aire, or to danse with the fairies... On the other side, wee see they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselves, or by their diuels, could trouble the elements, we should neuer haue faire weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattell, they would spare none; but would destroy and kill whole countries and housholds... If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantlie affirmed) oh what a number of apes and owles should there be of vs!¹⁰

In one copy this passage is strongly marked with a manicule and vertical line (see figure 4) – this reader also noted some of Scot’s most frequently-quoted passages, such as the description of how a ‘witch’ may come to believe that her actions have an effect, or the statement ‘he that attributeth to a witch, such diuine power, as dulia and onely apperteineth vnto GOD (which all witchmongers doo) is in hart a blasphemmer, an idolater, and full of

⁶ Scot, *Discoverie*, BL C.123.c.10, 41, 42.

⁷ Scot, *Discoverie*, BL G.19129, e.g. 515, 516.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁹ Scot, *Discoverie*, SHL, 112, 3.

¹⁰ *Discoverie*, 219.

gross impietie, although he neither go nor send to hir for assistance.¹¹ In another copy, annotated by several contemporary hands, the above passage is also marked, alongside notes on, for example, the absurdity of making laws against impossibilities, and Scot's lists of various popular (and Catholic) superstitions.¹² The passage is marked in yet another copy, this time with the note 'y^t witches Doe nothing'; although later on, next to a discussion by Scot on the absurdity of a law that states 'Let him be executed that bewitcheth corne', this reader has noted 'a great and Worthy ca[use?] of Death' – not exactly the point Scot was trying to make.¹³ This is an example of the difficulty of interpreting annotations – the sceptical passages that are marked could well be an example of a non-sceptical reader noting passages he disagrees with.

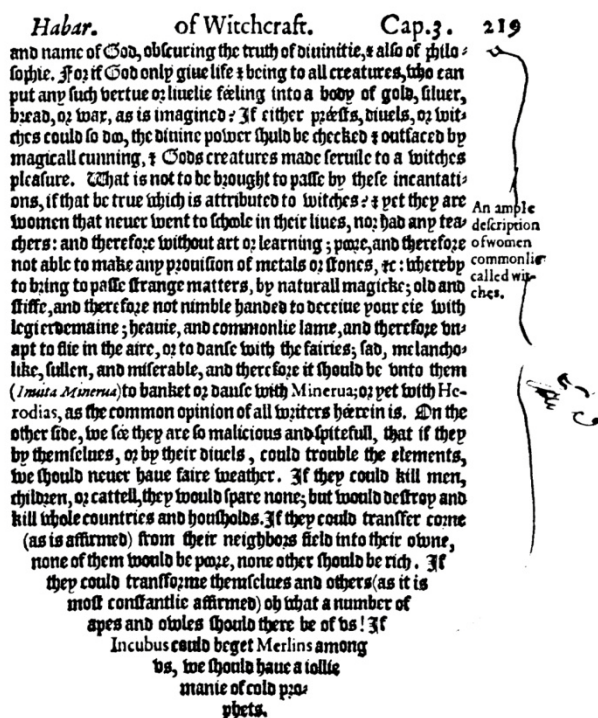


Figure 4: Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft*, EEBO (Huntington).

Another passage found marked in several copies is Scot's oft-quoted description of the witch stereotype ('women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eyed, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists', etc.) and the process by which accusations of witchcraft could arise and come to be believed ('Thus in processe of time they haue all displeased hir, and she hath wished euill lucke vnto them all... Doubtlesse (at

¹¹ Scot, *Discoverie*, EEBO (copy from Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99852103], 219, 8, 12.

¹² Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21894 Copy 1, 219, 222, 203-5.

¹³ Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 Copy 3, 219, 221.

length) some of hir neighbours die, or fall sicke...'). It is marked in four copies of the first edition and one copy of the second edition, although in the latter instance it is not possible to date the markings, so they may not be contemporary.¹⁴ Scot's understanding and elucidation of the witch stereotype struck early modern readers, just as it has done modern readers.

That the same passage was marked in a number of copies suggests it was a significant one for contemporary readers; with these two passages, both strong statements of Scot's scepticism, the interpretation seems relatively straightforward. Yet what are we to make of the contemporary readers who marked the passage in which Scot scorns those who accuse witches of spoiling the butter-making process, by alleging his own investigations:

Whereof I haue had some triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a little sope or sugar into your chearne of creame, and there will neuer come anie butter, chearne as long as you list.¹⁵

This passage is marked in five copies of the first edition, an amazing number, given the scarcity of annotations as a whole and the length of Scot's work.¹⁶ One of them even adds a note, 'How to make y^t your butter shall not come'.¹⁷ As a weapon in the critique of witch-hunting, it is somewhat anodyne; as a piece of practical advice it is utterly useless. A possible explanation is suggested by the marking in the Cambridge University Library copy, which seems aimed at the fact that Scot made an empirical trial of the matter, rather than at the resulting knowledge. Perhaps the readers were interested in the fact that Scot had made practical experiments? Beyond this, an explanation is likely to remain elusive – it is a reminder of how difficult it is to get at the meanings behind marginalia.

A more easily-interpreted practical use of Scot's work is when we find contemporary readers taking an interest in the reams of information on magical practices Scot printed. Part of Scot's strategy in the *Discoverie* was simply to expose magical practices such as charms, conjuring rites and other rituals, 'supposing that the citing of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient confutation thereof.'¹⁸ In doing so he inadvertently made such material – which had until then only been found in rare manuscripts and in Continental

¹⁴ Scot, *Discoverie*, EEBO (Huntington), Folger STC 21864 copies 1 and 2, CUL Pp*.3.65(E), book 1, chapter 3; R. Scot, *Scot's Discovery of VVitchcraft* (2nd ed.; London: Richard Cotes to be sold by Giles Calvert, 1651), SHL HPL [Scot] RBC, book 1, chapter 3.

¹⁵ Scot, *Discoverie*, 11.

¹⁶ Scot, *Discoverie*, SHL G2.6 [Scot] SR, Folger STC 21864 copies 1 and 2, LoC BF1565.S4 1585, CUL Pp*.3.65(E).

¹⁷ Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 Copy 1, 11.

¹⁸ *Discoverie*, 27-28.

Latin works – far more accessible for those who wished to practice it. As Owen Davies explains,

Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* was a treasure trove of magical information, providing spells, Catholic prayers, exorcisms, charms, talismans, and rituals on how to communicate with angels, demons, and the spirits of the dead. There were detailed instructions on conjuring up treasure and how to enclose a spirit in a crystal... Scot produced what amounted to the first grimoire printed in the English language, and while he did so to prove the worthlessness of its contents he unwittingly ended up democratizing ritual magic rather than undermining it.¹⁹

There are several pieces of evidence for early modern readers using Scot's book as a grimoire: Frank Klaassen and Christopher Phillips have uncovered a manuscript apparently intended for use in practical magic which quotes Scot verbatim, removing his anti-magical polemic; and James Sharpe has discovered a cunning woman found owning a copy of the work in 1687.²⁰

The search for annotations has uncovered further evidence of this. The clearest is found in a copy of the second edition in the Bodleian Library: in the front there is the note 's[p]ent on this & Agrippa 5^s... June 1655' – Agrippa being another popular author amongst magical practitioners.²¹ And at the end of the book another contemporary hand (possibly but not unquestionably the same hand) has written a brief personal index to the work, all the references being to practical magical operations, such as speaking with spirits and the correct astrological signs under which to perform love-magic.²² One of the references is to Scot's discussion of the summoning of a spirit named Bileth, who 'maketh a man wonderfull in philosophy and all the liberall sciences: he maketh love, hatred, insensibility... answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, and to come'; in that passage, rather ominously, the line 'I may not bewray how and declare the means to contain him, because it is an abomination' is underlined and marked in the margin with a cross.²³

This is further evidence of Scot's work being read by someone with an interest in practical magic; entirely opposite to the spirit of the work. It is an example of readers

¹⁹ O. Davies, *Grimoires – A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 70.

²⁰ F. Klaassen & C. Phillips, 'The Return of Stolen Goods – Reginald Scot, Religious Controversy, and Magic in Bodleian Library, Additional B. 1', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 1, 2 (2006); Sharpe, *Instruments*, 281. See also Davies, *Popular Magic*, 124-27; id., *Grimoires*, 139-50.

²¹ Scot, *Scot's Discovery*, Bodleian Ashm. 549, front free endpaper recto. On Agrippa see Davies, *Popular Magic*, chapter 5.

²² Scot, *Scot's Discovery*, Bodleian Ashm. 549, rear free endpaper recto.

²³ Ibid., 273.

wresting the meaning of a work far away from its author's intentions, and further evidence of how witchcraft treatises engaged with wider discourses. Other copies of Scot's work offer less tangible hints of the same phenomenon. In a copy of the first edition in Senate House Library, for example, a contemporary reader has marked a number of verse charms and prophetic sayings, in both English and Latin.²⁴ Similarly, in one Folger copy, a contemporary hand has noted 'a charme' in the table of contents at the end of the work, next to the entry for 'A charme against shot'.²⁵ The same charm is marked with a crude manicule, along with a number of others, in one of the copies in Cambridge University Library.²⁶ Occasional charms are also marked in a copy of the third edition in the Library of Congress.²⁷ Most tantalisingly of all in this respect is a copy of the second edition in the Wellcome Library: the pages are stained throughout, but pages 178-86, part of Book 12, are particularly soiled and stained, much more heavily than the rest – is it possible this is because they were kept open whilst a reader practised such charms as '*to drive away spirits that haunt any house*' or '*to know what is spoken of us behind our backs*'?²⁸ This last example may be a step too far into the realms of uncertainty,²⁹ but in the other examples at least one thing is clear: these readers were marking out as points of interest matters that Scot published only to demonstrate their absurdity – something of which these readers must have been aware, but which they apparently chose to ignore.

While these readers were certainly reading against Scot's intentions, only one copy of the *Discoverie* was discovered with directly antagonistic marginalia – although, curiously enough, in two different hands. The earliest, a rough sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand, sums up this reader's response to the *Discoverie* in a note on page one: 'Scot, I would you had vsed a more moderate stile, then so (though not like a witche yet like an infernal dyvell) maliciously to raile on and slaunder those whom you terme papistes' – as with the reader mentioned above, exception has been taken to Scot's insulting approach to his enemies. The note continues, somewhat mysteriously: 'but as yo^r maister[?] manhood[?] was a malepert Atheist, so doth his scottishe servant[?] shewe himselfe an incredulous heretike'.³⁰ The hand is difficult to read, but it is clear that this is more than mere annoyance with Scot's sarcasm: this is a reader deeply angered by Scot's position. It appears

²⁴ Scot, *Discoverie*, SHL G2.6 [Scot] SR.

²⁵ Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 Copy 3, Ss4^r, 231.

²⁶ Scot, *Discoverie*, CUL Pp*.3.65(E), 231.

²⁷ Scot, *Discovery* (1665), LoC BF1565.S4 1665, 138, 148, 150-51, 258.

²⁸ Scot, *Scot's Discovery*, Wellcome 47470/B, quotations at 178 and 186.

²⁹ Although cf. K. M. Rudy, 'Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 2, 1 (2010).

³⁰ Scot, *Discoverie*, CUL N.4.5, 1.

that the annotations may well be from a Catholic perspective. Scot's classic description of a witch is yet again singled out for annotation: here the single word 'papists' (in 'poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists') is underlined, with the marginal comment: 'good man scott howe many witches knowe yo^u in england or scotland that are recusantes, & yet yo^u terme them papistes • naye are they not rather heretikes'. Further on, where Scot has the chapter heading 'What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets', the reader has corrected 'papists' to 'heretikes'. Finally, next to Scot's own (printed) marginal note, 'Miracles are ceased', the reader notes: 'this is a lye'.³¹ The meaning here is complex: these annotations are not a response to Scot's scepticism – in fact they do not engage with it – but apparently to his association of witchcraft with Catholicism, something Scot was not alone in doing among English writers on witchcraft. That miracles had ceased was not a position that all Protestants shared (certainly outside scholarly discourse), and it was not quite as simple as an absolute cessation, as Walsham has shown, but it was an argument most often made in the context of attacks on Catholicism.³² Writers on witchcraft preferred not to commit, maintaining only that God alone had power to effect miracles,³³ although the idea was occasionally explicitly proclaimed among those who did not share Scot's scepticism, as it helped make the case for the diabolical origin of white magic.³⁴ It seems unlikely that anyone who followed the Protestant approach to witchcraft would have attacked the doctrine so vehemently, suggesting that these annotations have a quite different point of origin.

There are further annotations in this copy in a later seventeenth-century hand which suggest a similar response. Even more so than the first hand, they appear to be pro-Catholic. Where Scot says that 'infidelitie, poperie, and manie other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered' by attributing so much power to witches, 'poperie' has been struck out. Scot's comment that 'The papist hath some colour of scripture to mainteine his idoll of bread, but no Iesuiticall distinction can couer the witchmongers idolatrie in this behalfe' is struck out, and a marginal note comments: 'plaine blasphemye'. Several references to 'friers' are also struck out, and finally Scot's line 'he that in hart and by argument mainteineth the sacrifice of the masse to be propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, is an idolater; as also he that alloweth and commendeth creeping to the crosse, and such like idolatrous actions' receives the annotation: 'horrible scottish blasphemy'.³⁵ Both sets of

³¹ Ibid., 7, 9, 14.

³² *Providence*, 226-32.

³³ See e.g. Holland, *Treatise*, E1^r; Perkins, *Discourse*, 13-18.

³⁴ See e.g. J. Mason, *The Anatomie Of Sorverie*, (London: John Legate to be sold by Simon Waterson, 1612), 7-8.

³⁵ Scot, *Discoverie*, CUL N.4.5, A6^v, B1^r, 12.

annotations use the word ‘Scottish’ – a genuine error or a rather odd play on Scot’s name? Presumably the later reader read the earlier annotations, so this may at least explain the second use of it. Perhaps the copy was passed down within a family or circulated amongst a community of like-minded readers. Such similarity of comment in one copy (when no such comments were found in any other copies) is unlikely to be coincidental. These annotations are the only example of such direct adversarial confrontation found in the entire sample. Given Scot’s reputation, they are perhaps what we might have expected to find; the surprise is that more were not found. Also surprising, however, is that they seem to have been recusant readers. On the evidence of this study, limited as it is, it appears that Scot’s attacks on Catholicism, rather than his witchcraft scepticism, inspired the most negative reactions in readers.

An unpublished witchcraft treatise in the Harleian collection in the British Library may well be a reply to Scot, though it does not mention him by name, a further manuscript response.³⁶ The manuscript lacks both beginning and end so we have no idea who wrote it or when; the hand is from the first half of the seventeenth century. It consists of a list of (at least) 108 reasons for belief in witchcraft. It is not a vitriolic attack like the Catholic annotations, but a reasoned and detailed analysis of Scot’s arguments; the most thorough engagement with Scot in manuscript or print. It is a further example of the depth of impact that Scot’s treatise made.

Another work which might have been expected to inspire angry reader responses is Michaelis’ *Admirable History*, a translation of an enormously long piece of French Catholic propaganda with what is surely a disingenuous preface claiming it to be a work published to ridicule Catholics. Much of the propaganda in the work is put into the mouths of the devils who are said to be possessing some young girls, supposedly compelled by the exorcists (one of whom was Michaelis). It was an odd strategy and, not surprisingly, drew comment from contemporary readers. In a copy in Cambridge University Library, for instance, next to a comment from Verrine (one of the devils) that God ‘hath made no sessement of the number, or enormitie of sinnes, he desireth only vnfained repentance: and it is most true, God receiueth a sinner as the prodigall childe was receiued’, a seventeenth-century hand sarcastically notes ‘This was some Puritan Diuell out of doubt.’ On the same page there is another note, presumably equally sarcastic (and therefore sceptical?): when Verrine tells

³⁶ BL MS Harley 2302.

Magdalene (the girl he is possessing) that ‘this is the first time thou spakest from thy heart’, the reader comments ‘Marke this: this Deuill knoweth the seacrets of y^e hart’.³⁷

Later on in the same copy there are some more copious annotations in an earlier hand, more contemporary with the work’s publication. The tone, however, is similar (just like with the Catholic annotations in Scot; perhaps this is another case of a work handed down or around by like-minded readers). When, for example, Verrine is compelled by his (Dominican) exorcists to say that ‘*Dominick* hath obtained a grant from the Mother of God, that those of his Order may liue in great perfection; yea, that they shall liue vntainted from the pollutions of any mortall sinne’, this reader comments: ‘the[n] Christ needed not to die for the Dominicans.’ When Verrine is commanded to elaborate a point of doctrine relating to the immaculate conception, the reader notes: ‘yf the knowledge heareof had bene necessarie, god would haue revealed it in his word, w^{ch} we are bound to beleve, and not by a devil whom we are coman[n]ded not to beleve’. Particularly important is Verrine’s admission that the rumour that the possessed girls had been taught to counterfeit by Michaelis and his associates was put around by the devils themselves; the reader notes in the margin: ‘mark mark. does he speake trew?’³⁸ Elsewhere, particularly in Michaelis’ ‘Discovrse of Spirits’, this reader enters into debate with Michaelis in the margins.³⁹ Remarkable about both sets of annotations is that, apart from the snide comment about the Dominicans, there is no particular anti-Catholicism. They are undoubtedly critical, but they are not writing the work off as Catholic and therefore unreliable. They show readers debating the works they read, and considering them critically – even Continental Catholic works, a finding that accords with the prominence given to Continental works in English libraries.

A good illustration of the range of content found in annotations, and the accompanying interpretive difficulties, is found in two copies of the second edition of Perkins’ *Discovrse*. One of them is the copy in the Folger mentioned in the Introduction, in which a later seventeenth-century reader has critically engaged with the work. The annotator is not sceptical, but rather thinks along the lines of those demonologists who argued that the Devil was the main author of *maleficium*, rather than the witch: ‘for y^e diuell being learn’d excellently by nature and by a long experience of some 6000 years he knowes y^e causes and soe produces y^e effects; and so he acts them not y^e Witches’⁴⁰ – here this reader is in agreement with Perkins (and most English writers on witchcraft). This is not

³⁷ Michaelis, *Admirable History*, CUL Peterborough.A.2.30, 11.

³⁸ Ibid., 203, 207, 205.

³⁹ E.g. ibid., ‘Discovrse of Spirits’, 105, 106, 107.

⁴⁰ Perkins, *Discovrse* (1610), Folger STC 19698 Copy 1, 12.

the case further on, however, in an extraordinary annotation on Perkins' discussion of implicit covenants with the Devil, in which the reader suggests there is no harm in conversing with the Devil or even using his powers, if it is done to good end and no covenant is made:

seeing y^e diuell acts by naturall meanes, and I desire y^e execution of a lawfull thing, for a good purpose, if I can make y^e diuell serue god and good men by those meanes w^{ch} he vses to destroy I perceiue noe hurt; If he does it for me, he can't require any thing because of noe[?] agreement, If he requires not y^e vsuall termes but perhaps some goods, w^t harme If I impart them; ye former conditions Imposed; I thinke it not worser then If I should hire a wicked souldier or lawyer, physician for my purpose... I hold it rather a matter of caution then of vnlawfulnes to conuerse with Him; or vse his skill If he will doe it with out compact on ye vsuall termes.⁴¹

This is a view Perkins, indeed most theologians, would have considered extremely dangerous – yet it is not a sceptical one in the sense of disbelieving in either the Devil or witches. One can only wonder how many other people had similar views that never found their way into print. Similarly, this reader disagrees with Perkins when the latter states that using the name of Christ to drive out Devils is a form of witchcraft:

I know noe name vnder heauen but yt of gods to be effectuall, and hath prou'd of late times soe to many; for many persons haue been vnwitched by ye feruent prayers and retired[?] fastings of diuers godly diuines... as for y^e cessation of such acts is false; experience Contradicts it, and for Miracles yr is euen now as much need as euer, though not to all persons and places. Since y^e acts are lately done wee may Conclude miracles not to haue Ceased; I thinke ye names of god by fath to haue power to expell without whichcraft [*viz*].⁴²

Further evidence that the doctrine of the cessation of miracles did not have universal support.⁴³ It is frustrating not to be able to date these annotations more precisely – it would be fascinating to know to which events their author is referring, and which events inspired him (or her) to suggest that miracles were needed more than ever. This seems to be a reference to a godly exorcism. What we can see, however, is a reader engaging with

⁴¹ Ibid, 52-53.

⁴² Ibid, 151.

⁴³ See Walsham, *Providence*, 230-32.

Perkins' text; entering into debate with it, and confidently asserting their own ideas in opposition to Perkins' thought. It is a reminder that witchcraft treatises were not representative expositions of early modern belief but expressions of ideological positions which were by no means reflected in all their readers. And once again witchcraft discourse is touching on a range of subjects; the annotations only mention witchcraft twice.

Another copy, this time in the Bodleian, offers an example of the opposite sort of annotation: mostly – though, intriguingly, not quite – irrelevant to the work being annotated. With paper expensive during the period, one commonly finds the flyleaves and margins of printed works being used as notepaper; in this instance the annotator has turned the margins of Perkins' treatise into a commonplace book. So, for example, next to a discussion of the Biblical sorcerers Jannes and Jambres, we find the note: 'Studdy to please my Lady your mother uery much But liue most about y^e Court & speake ill of noe bodye.'⁴⁴ Or, next to a passage on charms: 'All Poetts for y^e most part are uery poore & some uery Pocky as Witt Dauenant for example ye gristle of whose nose is fallen' – a reference to the poet Sir William Davenant (*d.*1668); did the annotator know him personally?⁴⁵ Elsewhere in the work, next to the same passage on driving out devils with the name of Christ as was annotated in the Folger copy: 'A thousand pounds my dogge shall dye.'⁴⁶ These annotations are surreally irrelevant to the work. There are several annotations, however, with a tangential relationship to the text they appear alongside. When Perkins writes, for instance, 'Looke as the Iugler, by his deuillish art, deludeth the outward eye, and maketh men thinke they see that, which indeed they doe not', the annotator comments: 'Packinge of y^e cards, cogginge of y^e dice, belonge to y^e common place of iuglinge'. When Perkins, discussing creation, argues that 'for the succession and propagation of creatures in their kinds, as of men, beasts, birds, fishes, &c. it is onely a continuation of the creatures in their kindes, and is wrought by ordinarie means of generation', the annotator comments: 'Beasts byrds fishes & foule are good at feast Hawkinge, Huntinge, fishinge & fowlinge are good Countrie sports'.⁴⁷ This surely indicates that the annotator was *reading* the work, but they can hardly be said to have been taking in its message. We might have assumed that a witchcraft treatise was an unlikely work on which to base such musings; annotations like this suggest that we should be careful when making such assumptions. What both these examples demonstrate is that readers were happy to appropriate printed works to their own

⁴⁴ Perkins, *Discourse* (1610), Bodleian 8° D267 Linc., 163.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 153. On the unfortunate state of Davenant's nose, see M. Edmond, 'Davenant, Sir William (1606–1668)' in *DNB*.

⁴⁶ Perkins, *Discourse* (1610), Bodleian 8° D267 Linc., 151.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 158 and 162.

ends; that ‘early modern readers did not passively receive but rather actively reinterpreted their texts’.⁴⁸ They were not bound in their reading by the author’s own interpretive field.

One of the most common forms of marking is the highlighting of passages, either by underlining them or marking them in the margin, for which a variety of symbols could be used. Such markings, we assume, ‘usually announce a passage to which the annotator accorded, or felt he should accord, especial importance.’⁴⁹ It is difficult to date such markings on their own, but often there are occasional accompanying signs (e.g. the odd word in the same ink) which suggest contemporaneity. The most that can be done with such markings is to attempt to pick out themes of interest – though whether they are in agreement or disagreement can only be guessed at. Several copies of Mason’s *Anatomie* are marked up in this fashion, for example. A reader of a copy in the Bodleian seems to have taken a particular interest in charms and their inefficiency – ‘For what can words of themselves doe, but onely signifie: neither can characters doe or effect any thing, but onely represent’ – as well as in cunning folk, marking such passages as:

For many, I might say, most men now a daies (if God doe not restore them to health, when, & how they thinke good[]), they will leaue Gods ordinarie meanes by physicke, and will goe to sorcerers: that is, to the ministers of Satan, which is all one, as to go to Satan himselfe.⁵⁰

Only one annotation is present, a marginal heading, paraphrasing a passage rather than commenting: ‘T[h]ree things required in him y^t is a lawfull worker of miracles’.⁵¹ Another reader, this time in a copy in the Folger, has also picked out particular condemnations of cunning folk.⁵² Such an interest is also expressed in markings in the Folger copy of Holland’s *Treatise* and the British Library copy of Stearne’s *Confirmation*; although the reader in the latter seems more interested in the witches’ sexual intercourse with the Devil.⁵³ Certainly, though, at least some contemporary readers were noticing the condemnation of white witches discussed in 1.1, and marking it as significant.

Much of this marking may have been commonplacing – readers picking out memorable phrases, *sententiae*, to copy into a commonplace book. It was a widespread

⁴⁸ Jardine & Grafton, ‘How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, 30.

⁴⁹ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 274.

⁵⁰ Mason, *Anatomie*, Bodleian 4° I 18 Th., 22, 85 & *passim*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵² E.g. Mason, *Anatomie*, Folger STC 17615, 9, 61, 73.

⁵³ Holland, *Treatise*, Folger STC 13590, B1r; Stearne, *Confirmation*, BL C.54.e.6, 39, 29, 30, 32.

practice during the period.⁵⁴ In several copies of Scot this clearly seems to be what is going on. In the Senate House Library copy mentioned above, a number of the phrases picked out have the flavour of aphorisms; for example: ‘when punishment exceedeth the fault, it is rather to be thought vengeance than correction’; ‘*For as knowledge and time discovereth errors, so dooth superstition and ignorance in time breed them*’; or ‘*truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, than a sweet sauer in a dunghill*’.⁵⁵ Two of the Cambridge University Library copies are marked in a similar fashion – some of the same lines are even picked out.⁵⁶ It is difficult to be certain from this evidence alone whether this was done with or without a sense of the wider purpose of the work. What is clear is that Scot’s work was a rich source of such material, and no wonder, given his encyclopaedic research and voluminous quotations from sources. Once again it is an example of readers using witchcraft writing in ways that are quite unexpected.

Often marginalia can be tantalisingly sparse – sometimes just a solitary note or marking, enough to show that a reader has been there and been thinking, but little more. In a copy of Perkins’ *Discourse* in the Wellcome Library, for example, we find Perkins rather loosely paraphrasing a Scriptural quotation, beginning his paraphrase ‘As who should say...’ (i.e. ‘as if to say...’). A later seventeenth-century reader has corrected this in the margin to ‘as though hee should say’ – presumably a criticism of Perkins’ too-idiosyncratic interpretation of Scripture.⁵⁷ It is the only annotation in this copy. A similar case is a solitary annotation in a copy of Potts’ *Wonderfull Discoverie* in the Bodleian, cruelly trimmed by a later binder. Potts is critiquing the evidence of Grace Sowerbutts, said to have been trained to fake accusations of witchcraft by a Catholic priest – Sowerbutts claimed a witch appeared to her ‘*in the likeness of a blacke Dogge*’; Potts expands this to say ‘*Vno & eodem tempore* [at one and the same time], shee [the witch] transformed her selfe into a Dogge’ – an unjustified expansion of the evidence. The annotator criticises Potts’ extrapolation, in doing so defending the priest.⁵⁸ Although very minor in themselves, once again these examples show readers using the margins to take an author to task; even eminent divines like Perkins were not free of reader censure. And news pamphlets were not read uncritically.

⁵⁴ Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?’, 16; Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 274–75; F. Schurink, ‘Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73, 3 (2010).

⁵⁵ Scot, *Discoverie*, SHL, A2^v, A7^r.

⁵⁶ Scot, *Discoverie*, CUL Pp*.3.65(E) and Hunter.d.58.3, e.g. A2^v, A7^r.

⁵⁷ Perkins, *Discourse*, Wellcome 1906/A, 226.

⁵⁸ Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, Bodleian Wood B 18, M2^r.

The latter is a rare example of an annotation in a news pamphlet; another is found in two pamphlets in the Folger, *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches At Chensford* and *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene VVitches*, both from 1645, both annotated in the same contemporary hand. In addition to having been heavily cropped by a later binder, the hand is crude, with some bizarre spellings, so the annotations are difficult to read. A general interest seems to be in the deceptions practised by the Devil; at least four of the annotations have some reference to Satan's trickery. The annotator draws a link from the Chelmsford case to the Lancashire trials of 1634, noting on the pamphlet's title-page that the witches are 'the desipeles[?] of queen mother of france thet saued the Lanchishire wiches 1634' (see figure 5).⁵⁹ It is not known what this refers to: presumably it refers to Henrietta Maria, thus dating the annotations to after the Restoration, when she began to be referred to as such. Perhaps she had some unrecorded role in ordering the investigation into the Lancashire convictions in London – though what connection this has to the Chelmsford case a decade later is not clear – or (it is not unlikely) perhaps the annotator was simply mis-informed. Either way it presumably suggests an anti-Royalist reader, condemning Henrietta Maria for saving her diabolical 'desipeles'. The reader also notes on the pamphlet's title-page that one of those executed was a minister's wife – this is marked with a crude (six-fingered!) manicule (see figure 5). In fact, this was a mistake, as noted in *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene VVitches*.⁶⁰ Could this annotator be noting it for similar reasons – they may have read the correction in the other pamphlet? Or simply because it was a notable fact? The other pamphlet has fewer annotations: a manicule noting how one of the suspects was supposedly impregnated by the Devil, and another next to a passage describing how the Devil appeared to the witches in a variety of shapes before the covenant was made, along with the note: 'marke this how the diule doth wach his times to Catch soules'.⁶¹ If there is a theme it is an interest in the practises of the Devil.

⁵⁹ *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches At Chensford* (London: John Hammond, 1645), Folger 257533, 1, 3, 5, 6, title-page.

⁶⁰ *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene VVitches*, 8.

⁶¹ *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene VVitches*, Folger 256-535q, 5, 4.

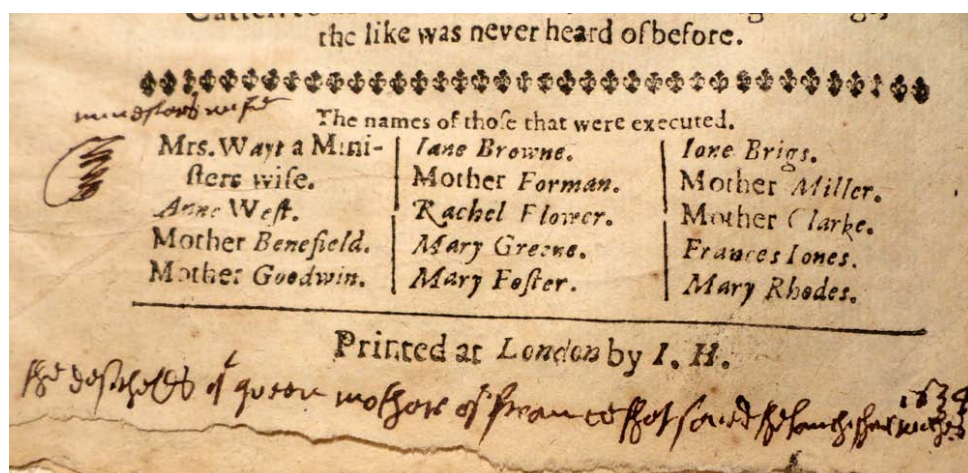


Figure 5: *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches*, Folger 257533, title-page (detail).

Interestingly, no noticeable distinction is made between the ‘serious’ body of the pamphlet and the apparently comic section at the end, which relates how, once in jail, the witches kept stealing the jailor’s meat:

When these Witches came first into the Gaole at Colchester, the Gaoler lost his meat often, and mistrusting that the Witches had got it, upon a time bought a good shoulder of Mutton, and said hee would looke to the dressing of it himselfe, but when it was ready the Witches had got it, and all the while the Witches were at supper with it, the Gaoler in stead of Mutton was eating Hogs-wash.⁶²

The passage is marked with manicules, and the final line with the same solemn ‘marke’ as had earlier marked a passage on the willingness of one of the witches to confess.⁶³ The story is reminiscent of the scene in *The late Lancashire Witches* in which a wedding banquet is carried off by witches, leaving inedible rubbish behind.⁶⁴ Although the reader noted a connection with the 1634 trials elsewhere, however, there does not seem to be any recognition here of the possible influence from the play.

The *Chensford* pamphlet was copied out by the Puritan diarist Nehemiah Wallington in his notebook of 1645, under the heading ‘Many Witches in Essex in Suffolk and Norfolk’, sadly without comment.⁶⁵ The interesting parallel is that Wallington transcribes the ‘comic’ passage without any apparent recognition of its difference in tone to the rest of the pamphlet, just like the Folger copy annotator. Presumably neither of them noticed what we now see as a rather jarring divergence of tone. This should remind us that although

⁶² *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches*, 6

⁶³ *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches*, Folger 257533, 6, 2.

⁶⁴ Brome & Heywood, *The late Lancashire Witches*, E4v.

⁶⁵ Tatton Park MS 68.20, 177-81.

witchcraft was a complex phenomena, its complexities could nevertheless be assimilated within particular viewpoints with no apparent difficulty.

Another rare pamphlet to be marked-up is the Folger copy of *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*. There is underlining throughout the pamphlet; generally suggesting an interest in the potential for good as well as bad magic, in the witches' familiar spirits, and in the practical operation of witchcraft. The various forms the familiars take, along with their names, are noted throughout the pamphlet, for example.⁶⁶ The reader marked the detailed list of writing on witchcraft provided by the pamphleteer at the beginning of the pamphlet, highlighting both the titles and dates of the works listed – perhaps suggesting a desire to undertake further research in the subject?⁶⁷ The reader also marked the passage describing Joan Flower's unpleasant providential end:

Ioane Flower the Mother before conuiction, (as they say) called for Bread and Butter, and wished it might neuer goe through her if she were guilty of that wherevpon shee was examined; so mumbling it in her mouth, neuer spake more wordes after, but fell downe and dyed as shee was carryed to Lincoln Goale, with a horrible excruciation of soule and body[.]⁶⁸

This passage is also marked in a copy of the variant issue of the pamphlet in Cornell University Library, with underlining, dashes and a dainty manicule (see figure 6).⁶⁹ It was clearly a passage that made an impact.

⁶⁶ *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, Folger STC 11107, e.g. D1^r, E2^r, E4^v, F1^r.

⁶⁷ Ibid., B4^r-C1^v.

⁶⁸ Ibid., D2^v.

⁶⁹ *The Wonderful Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, Cornell [available at <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=witch;idno=wit106>], D2^v.

A wonderfull Discoverie

from executing any further vengeance on
innocents, but leaue them to their shames,
and the hands of Iustice, that they might
not onely be confounded for their villanous
practises, but remaine as a notorious example
to all ages of his iudgement and fury. Thus
were they apprehended about Christmas,
and carryed to Lincolne Iayle, after due exa-
mination before sufficient Iustices of the
Peace, and discrete Magistrates, who won-
dred at their audacious wickednesse: but Joan
Flower the mother, before conuiction, (as
they say) called for Bread and Butter, and
willed it might neuer goe through her if she
were guilty of that whereupon shee was exa-
mined; so mumbling it in her mouth, ne-
uer spake more words after, but fell downe
and dyed: as shee was carryed to Lincolne
Iayle, with an horrible excruciation of soule
and body, and was buried at Ancaster.

When the Earle heard of their apprehen-
sions, he hasted downe with his Brother S^r
George, and sountimes examining them him-
selfe, and sometimes sending them to others;
at

Figure 6: *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, Cornell.

Another intriguing pamphlet annotation – another tantalisingly solitary annotation – appears in Senate House Library’s copy of Bower’s *Doctor Lamb Revived*. The ‘witch’, Anne Bodenham, was a cunning woman, and the pamphlet’s story begins with the Goddard family sending their maid again and again to visit Bodenham on various errands. On her first visit Bodenham claims to have predicted the purpose of the maid’s visit; as the annotator records in the margin, ‘[s]he knew [w]herefore [s]he came.’ On the second visit, however, Bodenham ‘asked her wherefore she came’, so the annotator adds a second comment in the margin: ‘here shee did not.’⁷⁰ Clearly a critical reader – but critical of the pamphlet report? Or of the supposed powers of Bodenham the white witch? Whatever the case, the reader has left just enough trace for us to see that the pamphlet was not being read in an unquestioning spirit.

A frequently-found form of annotation is the provision by readers of their own personal paratextual apparatus – that is, annotation that makes the books in question easier to use. As Heidi Breman Hackel writes,

⁷⁰ Bower, *Doctor Lamb Revived*, SHL HPL Pam.37 (70), 2.

As they supplied notes and apparatus, readers customized their books for themselves and others in their households. By correcting errors, providing summaries, noting eloquence, collating editions, or supplying guides, these annotators prepared their books for re-reading and continued use.⁷¹

A common example is the addition of page numbers when they were not printed. A number of readers added cross-references to other works.⁷² Quite often we find the addition of personal marginal headings; a good example is a copy of the *S. Oses* pamphlet in the Wren Library, Trinity College, in which a contemporary reader has noted the names of the witches in the margin next to informations or confessions of which they are the subject, allowing details of specific cases to be more easily followed.⁷³ A similar practice is the addition of personal, page-content-specific running titles, as in a copy of Gifford's *Dialogue* in Cambridge University Library.⁷⁴ Sometimes arguments were traced, either through being numbered or by having their structures labelled (by such terms as 'ob.', i.e. objection, and 'ans.', i.e. answer, or 'sol.', i.e. solution).⁷⁵ As well as assisting in reading the text, the latter may well have been a form of rhetorical analysis – perhaps by university students? Sherman writes that readers often numbered passages 'for clarification and ease of future reference.'⁷⁶ If not quite the 'goal-orientated' reading of humanist scholars, this was at least an annotation for later use.⁷⁷

A form of 'annotation for use' that provides a good indication of readers' interests is the personal index that readers occasionally provided to their books.⁷⁸ The index of magical rituals in a copy of Scot's *Discoverie* has already been mentioned. A copy of the second edition of Cotta's treatise in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, has a list of page numbers on the verso of the title-page; sadly this author has not indicated which particular passages on these pages were of interest, other than three passages on 'merecales', and two

⁷¹ *Reading Material*, 162.

⁷² E.g. Cotta, *The Infallible True And Assured VVitch* (1625), Bodleian 4° P100 Th.; James, *Daemonologie*, Queen's Sel.b.138; Filmer, *Advertisement*, BL G.19139, 16, 17; Bower, *Doctor Lamb Revived*, Queen's Sel.b.140, 7.

⁷³ W. W., *A true and iust Recorde*, Wren VI.2.46, e.g. A4^r, A6^r, A7^r. Other examples of works with personal marginal headings added include: Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 copies 1 and 2; Gifford, *Discourse*, EEBO (Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99838898]; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, UCL SR Ogden 310; Cotta, *Trial*, Wellcome 1636/B and CUL Dd*.2.41(E).

⁷⁴ Gifford, *Dialogue*, CUL Syn.7.58.73.

⁷⁵ Examples include: Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 Copy 1; Gifford, *Discourse*, EEBO (Huntington); Gifford, *Dialogue*, CUL Syn.7.58.73; Mason, *Anatomie*, Bodleian 4° I 18 Th.; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, Folger STC 17854.

⁷⁶ *John Dee*, 87.

⁷⁷ Jardine & Grafton, 'How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', 30.

⁷⁸ See A. Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, 1 (2003), 17-19.

passages in which Cotta refers his reader to various other books – perhaps again indicating a reader who wished to do further research.⁷⁹ A more enlightening personal index is found in the Bodleian copy of Mason's *Anatomie* discussed above. Here we find such entries as 'words or names not powerful to doe [?]' – conforming to the interest in the inefficacy of charms expressed by the reader's underlining; an entry on the etymology of 'Charmer'; on enchantments; on a disease Mason describes as 'the consuming feuer, which is called *febris hectica*'; several Scriptural references; and 'Cunning folck healing when Phisitions are not able.'⁸⁰ A single entry, 'Affliction' refers back to a passage, underlined by the reader, in which Mason writes that 'oftentimes, nay for the most part affliction, whether it be in body, or minde, or goods, is more expedient and profitable for the children of God, then worldly pleasure, health, or prosperity.'⁸¹ It is a somewhat idiosyncratic list; it perhaps demonstrates a wish to undertake further research; it certainly confirms this reader's interest in charming and beneficent magic (see figure 7). None of these entries has anything to do with witchcraft as traditionally defined, i.e. as harmful Satanic magic, and they suggest once again the wide range of interests with which witchcraft could be associated.

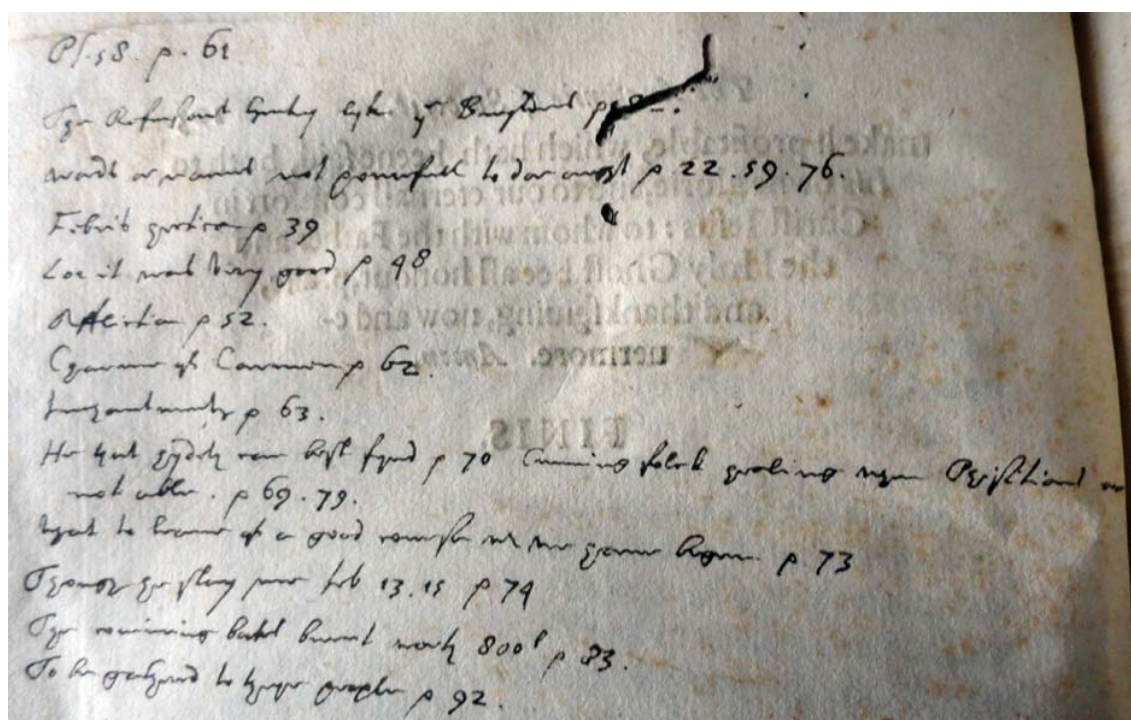


Figure 7: a reader's personal index. Mason, *Anatomie*, Bodleian 4° I 18 Th.

⁷⁹ Cotta, *The Infallible True And Assured VVitch* (1625 issue), Queen's Sel.b.138, title-page verso.

⁸⁰ Mason, *Anatomie*, Bodleian 4° I 18 Th., O2^v, quotation at 39.

⁸¹ Ibid., O2^v, 52.

Another personal index is found in a copy of the second edition of Perkins' *Discourse* in Cambridge University Library. This one has just five entries: 'Touching the Signes Aries etc', 'Obseruation of dayes', 'Of dreames', 'Of Lotts' and 'Reward of works'.⁸² Once again, none of them have anything to do with harmful witchcraft. As in the copy of Mason just discussed, this reader's interest lies with white magic, here tending towards astrology. And as with the abridgement of Perkins' works discussed in 2.2, it is a salient reminder that the portions of works on witchcraft most often highlighted by modern critics – in Perkins' case, usually his focus on the demonic pact and harmful magic – may well not have been the most important sections for contemporary readers. These works engaged with wider discourses, and it was these wider discourses that were often of most interest to early modern readers.

A potentially very interesting example of annotation for use is found in the collection of Richard Bancroft at Lambeth Palace. As discussed in 3.2, there is good reason to believe that the witchcraft pamphlets in the Lambeth collection were bound in various *sammelbande* by Bancroft himself or at his direction. One of two copies of *The most wonderfull and true storie* in the collection has underlining and annotations in a contemporary hand, many of which are practical aids for later readings or readers. For example, the reader has worked out the dates on which the narrative takes place and noted them in the margin; so where the text has 'The next morning...' we find the marginal note 'A. 12.', for April 12th, and so on. A few other clarifications are added, such as, for example, where the text mentions simply a 'Woman', the reader notes in the margin that it is referring to 'Wightm[an] his wife'. Not all the annotations are so practical, however; towards the end of the pamphlet, the narrator writes of the possessed boy, '...at which time, if he were possessed with two spirites, (as it is probable he was), one of them went out of him'; a marginal note asks: 'how can [this] bee'.⁸³ Gibson suggests that the annotations were 'almost certainly made during the High Commission prosecution' of the exorcist John Darrell which this case precipitated.⁸⁴ They could have been made by Samuel Harsnett, who took a lead in the prosecutions in his capacity as Bancroft's chaplain; they could have been made by some lesser functionary; or possibly even by Bancroft himself. If the annotations are indeed related to the Darrell prosecution, they offer a fascinating insight into the working methods of the prosecution during the controversy, ensuring the details of the pamphlet were clear and readily available. However, the attribution is not certain: none of the other pamphlets

⁸² Perkins, *Discourse*, (1610), CUL Hunter.d.61.6, rear free endpaper verso.

⁸³ *The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine Witch named Alse Gooderige* (London: for J[ohn] O[xenbridge], 1597), Lambeth [ZZ]1597.15, 7 and *passim*, 35, 37.

⁸⁴ *Possession, Puritanism and Print*, 61.

relating to Darrel in the Lambeth collection are annotated, and the annotations in this pamphlet are cropped by the binder, who was likely following Bancroft's orders – it seems unlikely he would crop out notes if they were of relevance to his work. If they are not by Bancroft or his team, it simply means the pamphlet was bought second-hand – interesting considering that Bancroft had it recalled. Whatever the case, it is another clear example of a reader improving upon a work for their own purposes – as well as reading in a critical spirit.

Another form of 'annotation for use' is the act of correcting the text of a work. This is probably, as Ann Blair suggests, the most commonly-found form of annotation.⁸⁵ These corrections may be based on printed errata lists, or they may be made by the readers on their own initiative. The former are fairly common – they do not tell us anything about the reading of the works, as it would have been perfectly possible to go through a work and correct all the errata, then put it aside and never pick it up again. It is at least worthy of note that this form of correction is found regularly in Scot, a work so frequently annotated.⁸⁶ A notable finding of the survey is that in all observed copies of Ady's treatise, the errata were corrected in the same hand, indicating that the corrections were performed by hand at the time of production.

More interesting are corrections made when no printed errata list is present. Typographical errors, referencing errors, translation errors; all are found to have been corrected by contemporary readers. Sometimes they are very sparse; occasionally just a single correction is present. Nevertheless they are 'precious evidence of a careful reading'.⁸⁷ They demonstrate readers not only reading but reading closely; and with, perhaps, an eye on future readings as well. As Blair writes,

Early modern readers... had multiple motivations to make corrections to improve a text, whether as an abstract good or for future reference for themselves or for others... By making corrections, readers completed the process of producing a text; despite the

⁸⁵ A. Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector' in S. A. Baron, E. N. Lindquist & E. F. Shevlin (eds), *Agent of Change – Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 36.

⁸⁶ The practice is found in: Scot, *Discoverie*, Folger STC 21864 Copy 2, LoC BF1565.S4 1585, Wren Capell Q.3 and Cornell [available at: <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=witch;idno=wit081>]; Cotta, *Triall*, EEBO (Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844484]; Cotta, *The Infallible True And Assured VVitch*, SHL HPL [Cotta] SR, Wren VI.10.40 and EEBO (Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844487]; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, Folger STC 17854a Copy 2 and UCL SR Ogden 310; Perkins, *Discourse*, CUL Hunter.d.60.6; Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, Folger STC 20138; Cooper, *Mystery*, Wellcome 1585/A.

⁸⁷ Blair, 'Errata Lists' in Baron, Lindquist & Shevlin (eds), *Agent of Change*, 41.

guidance of errata lists, readers had the last say, beyond the real control of either printer or author.⁸⁸

There are numerous examples of this among the works examined. They are found in both treatises and pamphlets – the latter, in any case, with the exception of Potts' *Wonderfull Discoverie*, never had errata lists, presumably because their producers considered them too ephemeral; it is interesting therefore to see readers take a different view.⁸⁹ In the Wellcome Library copy of Michaelis' treatise, corrections are made throughout, a rare indication that a reader had managed to make it all the way through this lengthy work – the reader even went so far as to correct entries in the index.⁹⁰ In a copy of Perkins' *Discovrse*, also in the Wellcome Library, a reader did not bother to correct the errata, but did make a correction to the errata.⁹¹ In a copy of the second edition of Scot's *Discoverie*, Scot's comment that 'it is most necessary for us to know and observe divers rules astrological' is corrected to read 'astronomical' – a correction of which modern scientists might well approve.⁹² In Cornell's copy of the first edition of Scot's work, a contemporary reader has made some corrections of their own as well as correcting the errata, at one point correcting Scot's Latin: where Scot translates a 'verie ruffinlie' Latin charm, '*Aperi os, & ibi imponam stercus*', rather modestly as 'Open thy mouth and I will put in a plumme', the reader quite rightly corrects the final word in the margin to 'a turd'.⁹³ These readers may not have been commenting on the text, but they were definitely reading it, and once again they were reading critically.

The most extreme examples of this practice are the Huntington Library copies of Gifford's *Discourse* and *Dialogue*. Both have been heavily annotated by the same sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century reader, particularly the *Discourse*. The reader has corrected errors and made changes throughout the works (not only typographical but syntactical), added marginal headings, numbered and marked arguments (with 'ob.' and 'sol.'), expanded Scriptural references, added cross-references between the two works (using their own

⁸⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁸⁹ Examples include: Scot, *Discoverie*, Wren Capell Q.3 and Cornell; Scot, *Scot's Discovery*, Queen's Sel.b.77; Gifford, *Discourse*, CUL Syn.7.58.73; Perkins, *Discovrse*, EEBO (Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849750]; *The Life And Death of Lewis Gausfredy* (London: Thomas Creede for Richard Redmer, 1612), Folger STC 11687; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, Folger 17845a Copy 2 and Wellcome 4318/B; Cotta, *The Infallible True And Assured VVitch*, SHL HPL [Cotta] SR and Wren VI.10.40.

⁹⁰ Michaelis, *Admirable History*, Wellcome 4318/B, Rr5^r, Rr6^v, Tt3^v.

⁹¹ Perkins, *Discovrse*, Wellcome 1906/A, R1^r.

⁹² Scot, *Scot's Discovery*, Queen's Sel.b.77, 124.

⁹³ Scot, *Discoverie*, Cornell, 238.

added pagination), as well as adding a number of marginal comments (see figure 8).

Sometimes the reader expands certain of Gifford's points to make them clearer.⁹⁴

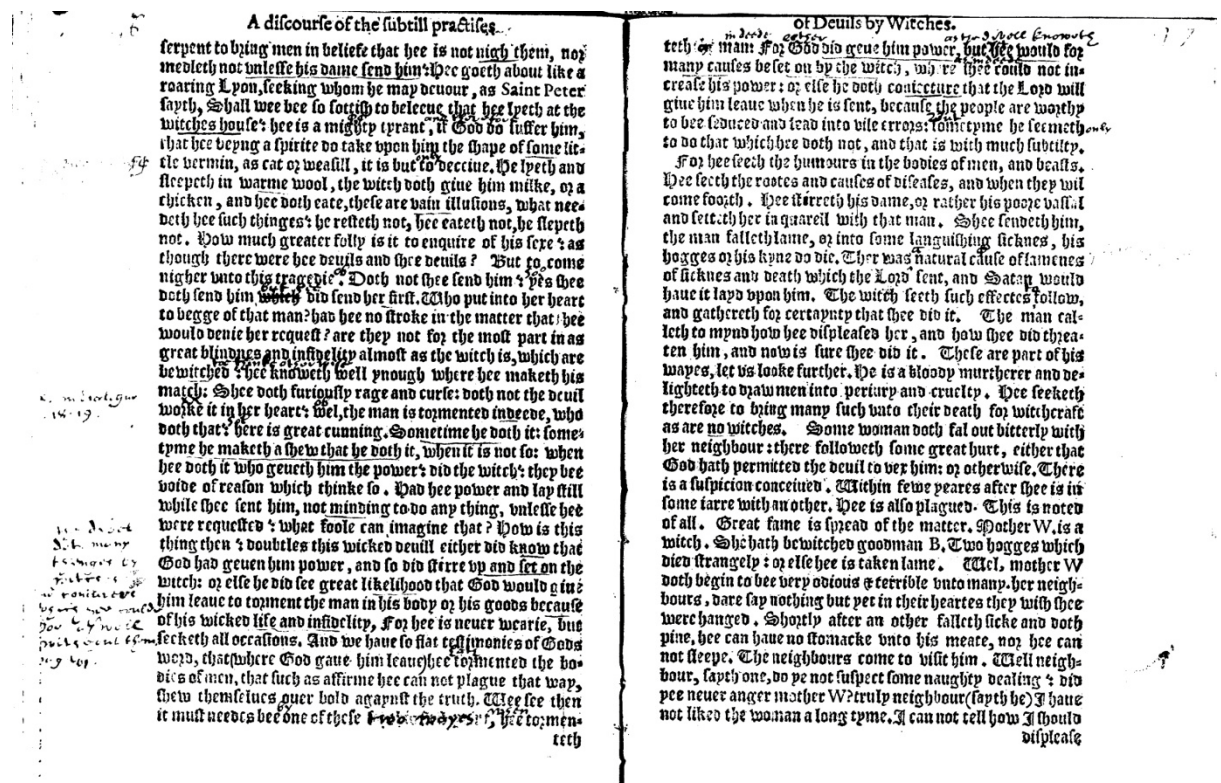


Figure 8: Gifford, *Discourse*, EEBO (Huntington), showing annotation, correction, added references and pagination.

The cross-references between the two works are to discussions of devils persuading 'the heathen people' that they were gods and prophets; of the silence in Scripture on witches being directly responsible for *maleficium*; and of Gifford's wish that people would persecute white witches – Gifford's comment in the *Dialogue* that,

It wer to be wished, that the law were more perfect in that respect... These cunning men and women which deale with spirites and charmes seeming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties, with all other which haue familiarity with deuils, or vse coniurations, ought to bee rooted out

is marked with underlining and a symbol in the margin.⁹⁵ Many of the more substantial annotations are sadly illegible on the EEBO scan; those that can be deciphered suggest

⁹⁴ E.g. Gifford, *Discourse*, EEBO (Huntington) [available at: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99838898], E2^v, F3^r, H3^r.

⁹⁵ *Discourse*, F1^r refers to *Dialogue*, E4^v; *Discourse*, I1^r refers to *Dialogue*, H1^v and vice versa; *Discourse*, I1^r refers to *Dialogue*, K3^{r-v} and vice versa; quotation at K3^v.

general agreement with Gifford. On the verso of the final leaf of the *Discourse* there is a lengthy comment, an attack on popular superstitions, primarily as a derogation of God's power. The annotator writes, for example:

Item that the repetition of the creede or the lordes [p]rayer can infuse into hearbes a faculty of healing diseases [?] and such like albeait they haue often true eventes [y]et are wee not to giue credence vnto them. for god per[m]itteth them to haue such success, that they which see and heare such thinges may bee tried and it may appeare [w]hat confidence they haue in god.⁹⁶

This is very much along the lines of Gifford's thought, and the focus is yet again on the condemnation of white magic; on wider themes than harmful witchcraft.

These are some of the most extensive annotations in the entire sample; they are certainly by far the most extensive set of corrections. In fact, they are more like improvements than corrections; this is a reader improving a text to their own specifications on a grand scale. The markings look a lot like the work of an editor (or the author) amending the text for a prospective second edition; there was no second edition of the *Discourse*, however, and the changes made in these annotations were not brought into the second edition of the *Dialogue*; in any case, the cross-references between the two works, together with the marginal comments, suggest a more personal endeavour. The detail and care with which the 'improvements' were undertaken shows, surely, that to this reader these were important books – but also, once more, that they were read in a profoundly critical spirit.

So far there has been little discussion of the identity of the readers who left these marks. It has simply not been possible to identify them: it is extremely rare to find a set of marginalia that can be linked to an identifiable provenance. In general, early modern readers left no identifying marks; when we do find names, it is rarely possible to identify them accurately; in many cases only initials are given. While being able to identify and locate readers would tell us much about the social demographic of readers, however, it does not inform us about *how* they read. As we have seen, anonymous markings can still do this. 'Even when the

⁹⁶ Gifford, *Discourse*, EEBO (Huntington), I4^v.

marginal hand remains anonymous, annotations offer invaluable evidence of how a text performed at moments of publication and circulation.⁹⁷

One clear theme that was found was the number of annotations either in Latin or commenting on Latin passages. This presumably indicates some sort of formal education. Similarly, commonplacing, an activity discovered on several occasions, was a reading methodology taught as part of an early modern formal education. In the majority of cases the handwriting of annotations is confident and neat, also suggesting educated readers. Only in a handful of cases has handwriting been discovered that is so crude as to suggest a reader from outside the formal education system; possibly someone of lower social class.⁹⁸ The number of similar forms of annotation for use, particularly the marking and numbering of arguments, suggests the deployment of a training in marking up books, such as may have been received at school.⁹⁹ These, as far as we can tell, were educated readers, with at least some scholarly background.

Perhaps the most unexpected development in the survey, however, was the number of copies of witchcraft works found to have been owned by children. While a child simply rummaging through his parents' library, pen in hand, may explain many of the more abstract doodles, a number of works show clear ownership marks made by children, suggesting that they considered the books to be their own possessions. We can only guess at the circumstances behind this. A touching example is the Folger copy of Cooper's *Mystery*, in which a young boy has re-affirmed his connection with the book on several occasions: 'James Vincent his Booke in the yeare of our lord god 1662', 'James Vincent his booke 1663', 'James Vincent he was 14 years old the 10 of aprill 1663', 'James Vincent was borne the 10 of aprill 1649' (see figure 9).¹⁰⁰ It is hard to conclude anything other than a genuine sense of pride in ownership – but what does this tell us about the reception of witchcraft writing? It at least suggests that witchcraft writing was not considered out-of-bounds for a 14-year-old; perhaps also that it was not interesting enough to be reserved for the parents' library? The sense of pride in ownership may in this case simply be connected with the aesthetics of the physical book itself, however – this was in a copy with relatively elaborate gilt decoration on its vellum binding (discussed in 3.2).

⁹⁷ Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, 274. See also Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', 12-13.

⁹⁸ E.g. *A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches*, Folger 257533; Perkins, *Discourse* (1610), Wren C.10.82 front free endpaper recto, rear free endpaper verso.

⁹⁹ See Sherman, *Used Books*, 3-5.

¹⁰⁰ *Mystery*, Folger STC 5701, second front free endpaper.

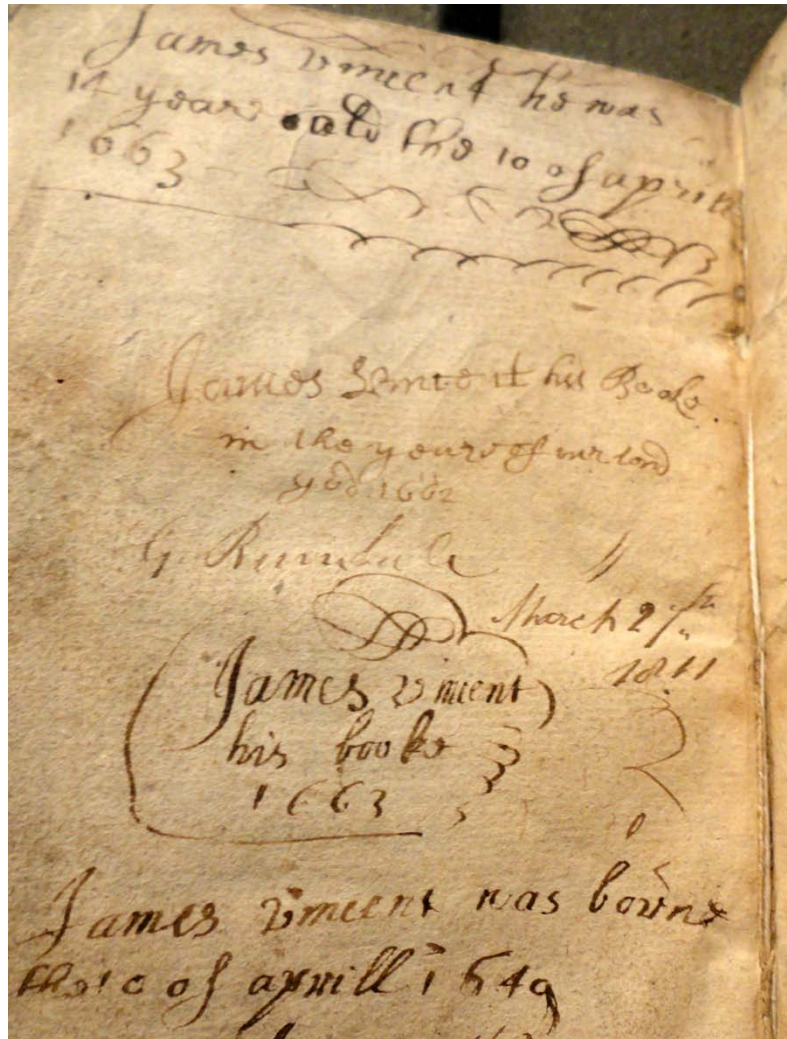


Figure 9: Cooper, *Mystery*, Folger STC 5701, front free endpaper verso.

Another striking example is a copy of Perkins' *Discourse*, also in the Folger, apparently shared by two children, Jane (or Jeane) and Hannah Aylofffe. Their names are doodled again and again on the front free endpapers, and one of them has written out her ABC.¹⁰¹ In this instance it seems to be an example of doodling on whatever blank paper came to hand, as in the less structured doodles found in other copies; this is surely handwriting practice or pen-trials, rather than repeated affirmation of ownership.¹⁰² Handwriting practice is commonly found, and would seem to suggest a lack of concern for the particular book in question; perhaps these copies had been passed on by uninterested parents?¹⁰³

One instance of a witchcraft book being handed down within a family has already been mentioned, although in this case it does not appear to have been to a child: a Folger

¹⁰¹ *Discourse* (1610), Folger STC 19698 Copy 2, front free endpaper verso.

¹⁰² See J. Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73, 3 (2010), 368.

¹⁰³ Other examples include: Scot, *Discoverie*, BL C.123.c.10; Michaelis, *Admirable History*, Folger 17854a Copy 2; Bernard, *A Guide To Grand-Ivry Men*, Folger STC 1943.

copy of the second edition of Perkins' *Discourse* with a Latin inscription (in an adult hand) from 1647 stating that it was 'A gift from my mother'.¹⁰⁴ What is to be made of this? Surely there is pride in ownership here once again. And besides that, only the knowledge that early seventeenth-century theological tracts were considered acceptable inter-familial gifts during the Civil War period. Perkins would not be the first author, and witchcraft not the first subject, to come to mind when considering such a scenario; for at least one seventeenth-century family things appear to have been different. All these examples show us a side of and a context for works on witchcraft we may not have dreamt of imagining before: witchcraft books in the home; as part of family life; as ordinary, unspectacular items in the everyday lives of their readers and owners.

What do the marks left by readers tell us about their responses to witchcraft in print? There are few instances of truly detailed engagement with works (on the page at least), as has been found in other subjects, and those readers that do engage in depth rarely do so at length. As a body of writing, works on witchcraft were not extensively annotated; corroborating earlier suggestions that these works did not have the impact their authors' desired. Often what annotations that are found peter out long before the end of a work, suggesting readers who got bored and went elsewhere. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence of close reading, even if these readers did not go on to make extensive comments. Many of the works were marked up, corrected, improved and made more useful, presumably for further study; perhaps for passing on to others; perhaps 'for action'. These were, it seems, works with practical use. The majority of the annotations seem to be the work of scholarly authors of some kind (perhaps a clerical readership enacting the reforming programme discussed in 1.1). There are some instances of clear pride in ownership, but they are rare, and doodles and rough treatment are more often found.

Some individual cases stand out. Scot in particular is prominent, yet again. Scot's treatise was more copiously and more intensely annotated than the others. It was also more sympathetically read than responses in print, and our sense of Scot as against the grain or ahead of his time, would suggest. Further support, it seems, for a reappraisal of the position of Scot and his ideas on witchcraft in the intellectual currents of his time. From the evidence of 2.2, 3.1 and 3.3, we would expect Perkins and James to be runners-up in annotation density: this is indeed the case. Taken together, this evidence offers a firm grounding for an assessment of the relative impact of individual authors.

¹⁰⁴ Perkins, *Discourse* (1610), Folger STC 19698 Copy 1, front free endpaper recto.

If occasionally the annotations are baffling in their irrelevance to the text, the major theme of those that do have relevance is of a critical attitude towards the work being annotated. Perhaps readers were more likely to leave a trace of their reading when they disagreed with the work they were reading; whatever the case, this survey has certainly found evidence of early modern readers responding critically to witchcraft writing. Readers were not afraid of forming their own ideas on the subject, nor of challenging, correcting or admonishing the authors. The study has furnished plenty of examples of ‘the ways that readers take liberties with texts.’¹⁰⁵ We should bear this in mind when considering these works as reflections of contemporary views – they were not collective statements but individual ones, and they were treated as such by their readers. Responses to witchcraft in print could be much broader, and much more critical, than a simple reading of the works themselves would suggest.

In terms of the content that drew readers’ attention, it is intriguing that we fairly often find the same passages marked up by multiple readers – most intriguing when they are passages picked out as important by modern writers too. Sometimes we find reasonably clear themes of interest which coincide with themes this study has identified elsewhere, such as the polemic against cunning folk (not only more important to theorists than is often recognised, but to their readers also). Other interests, such as in charms and practical magic, are perhaps more surprising, though this study has demonstrated that they should not be. The sense of witchcraft being defined as a much broader subject than simply harmful black magic, and engaging with many other and much wider discourses, is continued here in the responses of readers. This corroborates the evidence from a study of the production context of witchcraft writing, supporting the idea that it was not a unified genre, a distinct system of thought, but a wide range of discourses that could not be homogenised by its producers and which was not conceptualised as homogenous by its readers.

The various approaches taken across this final part have shed new light on the reception of witchcraft in print, offering a number of new perspectives. That the works did not make the impact their authors presumably hoped has been strongly supported. That the discourse of witchcraft could mean many different things has also been underlined. Above all these surveys serve as a reminder that works on witchcraft were as much a part of everyday life and experience as any other. This is a development of the central argument of this thesis: that writing on witchcraft was written in context and read in context. As well

¹⁰⁵ Darnton, ‘What is the History of Books?’, 79.

as the intellectual and commercial contexts discussed in parts one and two, these readers' own backgrounds also affected their readings. The ideas and polemic on witchcraft these books contained were not read in intellectual isolation but in the chaos of context; social, historical, intellectual and personal.

Conclusion

Writing on witchcraft can only be understood in context. Recent research into early modern demonology has made a strong case that this is so on an intellectual level; this thesis has provided material evidence in support of the claim, and expanded it to include other genres of witchcraft writing beyond scholarly demonology. All writing on witchcraft was shaped, formally as well as ideologically, by wider currents of thought and by the conditions of commerce under which it was produced. This study has also offered some suggestions as to what this might have meant for the readings and interpretations that contemporaries made of witchcraft writing when they encountered the books that transmitted it.

Theoretical treatises on witchcraft were, in the majority of cases, applications to witchcraft of much wider ideological programmes. The demonologies of Gifford, Perkins, Bernard and their colleagues were small skirmishes in a wider war of religious and social reform; a war carried out in a programme of print publishing throughout the period. They were works of polemic: not enumerating but attempting to change commonly-held belief. They were the invective of a minority desperate to reform what they saw as a dangerously sinful common misunderstanding of affliction, sin and providence, a misunderstanding which was not limited to witchcraft and magic but which extended through many, if not all, aspects of society. Witchcraft treatises should not therefore be taken as representative examples of early modern witchcraft belief; they reflect only the narrow ideological context in which they were produced. From this perspective, the very concept of witchcraft theory is a problematic one, for it was not an isolated discourse but was deeply embedded in larger intellectual movements.

That these works were not representative is reflected in the way the treatises performed in the marketplace of print. They were rarely reprinted; often their unsold sheets had to be reissued, sometimes under a different title. Their bindings seem generally to have been cheap and ephemeral, reflecting their status as works of polemic. They were not often found in private libraries. They were not widely cited: outside the discourse of witchcraft they were rarely read, and both within and without it they were most useful for their illustrative examples, rather than their theory. The traditional definition of witchcraft as harmful magic was far from being the only subject of interest to contemporaries in these works. And those readers who have left traces of their responses read critically, not taking the ideas of the treatises at face value and not afraid to form their own, quite different,

ideas on witchcraft and demonology. This may well have been a direct result of their status as partisan polemical works, associated with specific ideological programmes, rather than dispassionate commentary on the subject. They show us only one small side of English witchcraft belief.

News pamphlets too were more deeply embedded in their production context than has previously been recognised. Reading these works in the wider context of the print marketplace shows that the ways in which they were constructed, in both a literary and material sense, drew influence from broader trends in news publishing. The literary and typographical tropes that made them ‘sensational’ and vouched for their truthfulness were used across the news publishing genre. Reports of murders were just as untrustworthy as reports of witchcraft, for example; such tropes cannot be taken as evidence of particularly high levels of doubt regarding this particular crime. Rather, witchcraft needs to be understood as one crime among many for contemporaries, not as a unique and exceptional occurrence.¹ In addition, claims for the prevalence and apocalyptic importance of witchcraft made by pamphlet authors are no more than clichés of the genre, also wheeled out in reports of murders, possessions, monstrous births and more, and should not be taken at face value.

News pamphlets were generally produced by Stationers who specialised in such work; therefore they would also have been encountered by potential readers as just one report amongst many rather than as a specific genre of reportage. It is argued that this would have lessened their impact, and that this situation arose precisely because the authors and Stationers who produced them did not consider them to have any special status beyond the usual genre of strange news. However, witchcraft pamphlets did have importance for the discourse of witchcraft: the examples provided in news pamphlets proved useful not just for later writers on witchcraft but occasionally in actual witchcraft trials. This serves as a reminder of the importance of transmission in print – and thus of the importance of understanding all aspects of print production, and how these might have affected the construction of the works.

This research has also provided a corrective to traditional historiographical and literary approaches to witchcraft in print, as it has suggested that formal divisions were less

¹ This approach is reflected in a recent book by Laura Stokes on legal approaches to witchcraft on the Continent in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in which witchcraft is understood as just one crime among many. Stokes attempts to restore ‘witch trials to their prosecutorial context, alongside other capital crimes and within the broad spectrum of social control.’ She makes the important point that ‘as historians, we must acknowledge that witchcraft was legally as real as theft five hundred years ago.’ *Demons of Urban Reform – Early European Witch Trials and Criminal Justice, 1430-1530* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4.

fixed than is often assumed in modern writing on the subject. The division between theoretical treatises and news pamphlets so often set up in modern witchcraft historiography (scholars usually work on one or the other, rarely both) was not so apparent to early modern readers (or, at least, they did not often choose to respond to it). News reports and theoretical treatises were cited indiscriminately, largely because they were both read for their examples rather than their ideas. Although works on witchcraft were more often bound by their purchasers with works on other subjects, when they were bound together it was with no distinction between news report and theoretical treatise. For their readers, it was not the case, as William Monter claims, that ‘trial pamphlets and reflective essays inhabited different worlds.’² Though contemporaries certainly recognised the differences, the different types of work were read alongside one other, and this should be borne in mind when attempting to interpret them.

Drama and ballads featuring witchcraft also drew for their form on broader literary trends, and in order to be properly understood must also be read in context. For ballads the case is obvious as there was little distinction between ballads on any topic; most notable here is the sheer lack of works on the subject of witchcraft in such an enormously popular medium. Plays too drew on wider trends in dramatic writing, meaning that developments in the form should not be leant on too strongly in support of points about the state of belief in witchcraft. Tensions over the definition of witchcraft, never a straightforward or stable thing during the period, were also reflected in drama. And once again, major representations of witchcraft were scarce in this popular literary form, a fact which is in concordance with the general findings of this study. In none of these forms – scholarly discourse, news, drama or ballads – was there a specific genre of witchcraft writing.

This research has also shed light on the relative impact of individual works on witchcraft. If the general finding has been that works on witchcraft were less popular than has been recognised – with certain striking examples such as the treatises of Holland and Cooper, which fared disastrously – those works which performed best within this general sphere of limited success have been identified. The same names appear again and again: those whose works were reprinted, were translated and published abroad, were held by more libraries, were cited more often, and were annotated more often. Scot, in particular, made much more of an impact than has been recognised. He was not an isolated figure, ahead of his time and quickly forgotten, but an influential writer who made an impact, both on those

² W. Monter, ‘Re-contextualizing British Witchcraft’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35, 1 (2004), 107.

who disagreed with his position as well as those who sympathised with it. The latter appear to have existed in greater numbers than has been realised. There may be several reasons behind Scot's prominence: the most obvious of which is simply higher levels of scepticism concerning witchcraft during the period than scholarship has previously appreciated. It is possible that this lies behind the poor commercial performance of works on witchcraft in general. The controversy surrounding Scot's work, however, and its subsequent reputation, may also have played a part in the *Discoverie's* commercial success. The encyclopaedic nature of Scot's treatise seems also to have made it popular; as a work that both was and looked more scholarly than the polemical tracts of the clerical demonologists, perhaps the *Discoverie* simply appealed to a wider range of readers. For it is true that, although more evidence of scepticism has been uncovered, new evidence of the reading of Scot's work for its magical content has also come to light. It is certainly a surprise to find Scot so prominent; it is less of a surprise that following him in terms of impact are Perkins and James I. The wider reputation of the authors appears to be responsible here: and while this particular finding may have been predictable, there is now material evidence for it.

In this respect, one general finding stands out: Continental works on witchcraft were far more popular in England than English works on witchcraft. They were more widely purchased and they were more widely read. This may have been a direct result of the polemical nature of English works, i.e., precisely because they represented a view of witchcraft which was the product of a partisan programme of reform and which did not accord with general beliefs – not that Continental works were not also the product of their ideological circumstances, but this may have been less apparent to English readers. Certainly it seems that Continental works were seen as possessing more authority on the subject. It may also have been that the views of Catholic demonologists accorded better with general English views than the views of Puritan demonologists. Whatever the reasons for it, Continental works on witchcraft were more widely read than English works, and this forms another important context for the development of ideas about witchcraft in England.

If the overall view is of printed works on witchcraft making less of an impact than has previously been acknowledged, this in itself may have important things to tell us about the meaning of the belief during the period. Discussing the career of John Phillips (or Phillip), author of the poems which preface *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde*, along with much other topical hack-work (yet another example of witchcraft

works deeply rooted in their production context),³ Gibson briefly notes that ‘perhaps we need to try and understand the ordinariness, unexceptionalness, even dullness, of witchcraft to people and writers like Phillips.’⁴ Similarly, Briggs’ research in the archives of Lorraine led him to conclude that ‘witchcraft was really more humdrum than occult... an integral part of everyday life.’⁵ Persecution was the exception rather than the norm, Briggs has shown, and though witchcraft may have been present in most communities it was only persecuted at times of exceptional stress. A study of witchcraft in print culture provides a great deal of support for this view. In fact this ‘unexceptionalness’, I argue, was even more widespread and has greater implications for our understanding of witchcraft beliefs than Gibson and Briggs credit. This study has offered grounds for challenging the idea, so often expressed by modern writers on the subject, that witchcraft was an ‘explosive’ issue during the period.⁶ It suggests that the modern industry – not just in academic publishing but in popular culture and tourism – which has built up around the idea of witchcraft as an extraordinary, exceptional phenomenon has distorted our understanding of what witchcraft meant for early modern people.

Put back in their context works on witchcraft become more intelligible; they also become less noticeable. We need to understand witchcraft beliefs as quotidian, as an everyday part of life; strange, perhaps, but not necessarily surprising. A full understanding of early modern ideas about witchcraft will include an understanding that witchcraft was not the constant source of terror it has sometimes been made out to be. Indeed, part of what the clerical theorists were inveighing against was exactly this general indifference about the origin of magical power. The vision presented here is of witchcraft as quite simply less interesting than our modern obsession with it has assumed. This is not to denigrate witchcraft as a subject of study: the very fact of its intimate place in everyday life and its connection with so many wider issues and intellectual movements make it a necessary factor of our understanding of early modern life. Its very unexceptionalness actually makes witchcraft a richer and more interesting field of research, so embedded was it in its culture. But we must look at it with a proper sense of perspective. Witchcraft was an accepted part of the world, not an exceptional part.

³ See W. W. Greg, ‘John Phillip – Notes for a Bibliography’, *The Library*, 1, 3 (1910).

⁴ *Reading Witchcraft*, 166.

⁵ *Witches and Neighbours*, 356, and see Briggs’ conclusion.

⁶ Hirschfeld, ‘Collaborating across generations’, 339. See also the ‘pervasive climate of fear’ mentioned by E. Carlson, ‘Witchcraft is a rife and common sinne in these our daies’: The Powers of Witches in English Demonologies, 1580-1620’, *Western Illinois Historical Review*, 3 (2011), 22; or Almond’s suggestion that witchcraft was considered one of ‘the two most serious threats to the stability of the Jacobean state’, *The Lancashire Witches*, 5.

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Appendix 1: Chronological list of English works on witchcraft, 1560-1660

- Phillips, J., et al., *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde in the Countie of Essex*, London: William Powell for William Pickering, 1566.
44pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- The Examination of John Walsh, before Maister Thomas Williams... vpon certayne Interrogatories touchyng Wytchcraft and Sorverye*, London: John Awdely, 1566.
16pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- Daneau, L., *A Dialogue of Witches*, trans. T. Twyne?, London: [T. East? for] Richard Watkins, 1575.
168pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- A Rebearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile, Alias Rockingham, Mother Dutton, Mother Deuell, Mother Margaret, Fower notorious Witches, apprehended at winsore*, London: [John Kingston] for Edward White, 1579.
20pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three VVitches arraigned at Chelmsforde in Essex*, London: [John Kingston] for Edward White, 1579.
20pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- Galis, R., [*A brief treatise containing the most strange and horrible cruelty of Elizabeth Stile alias Rockingham and her confederates, executed at Abingdon, vpon R. Galis*], [London: J. Allde], 1579.¹
32pp. | 4° Type: black letter
- W., W., *A true and iust Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses in the countie of Essex*, London: Thomas Dawson, 1582.
100pp. + 1 fold out leaf | 8° Type: black letter
- Scot, R., *The discoverie of witchcraft*, London: [Henry Denham for] William Brome, 1584.
604pp. | 4° Type: black letter
- *Scot's Discovery of VVitchcraft* (2nd ed.), London: Richard Cotes to be sold by Giles Calvert, 1651.
446pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Reissue of 2nd ed., London: Ellen Cotes to be sold by Thomas Williams, 1654.
- [*The severall factes of Witch-crafte*], [London?: John Charlewood?], 1585.²
? pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- Gifford, G., *A Discourse of the subtile Practises of Denilles by VVitches and Sorcerers*, London: [Thomas Orwin] for Toby Cooke, 1587.
68pp. | 4° Type: black letter
- The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches*, London: Edward Allde, 1589.
16pp. | 4° Type: black letter
- Holland, H., *A Treatise Against VVitchcraft*, Cambridge: John Legate, 1590.
88pp. | 4° Type: roman

¹ Only extant copy lacks title-page; title from *STC* 11537.5.

² Only extant copy lacks title-page; title from *STC* 12786.5.

A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter, a most wicked Sorcerer, London: [R. Ward?] for Edward Venge, 1590.
1 foldout leaf + 22pp. | 8° Type: black letter

Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable life and death of Doctor Fian a notable Sorcerer, London: [Edward Alde?] for William Wright, 1592.
32pp. | 4° Type: black letter
Variants: *STC* 10841a as above; *STC* 10842 for Thomas Nelson (var. state); *STC* 10842.3 for William Wright (var. ed.).

B., G., *A Most VVicked worke of a wretched Witch*, London: R[obert] B[ourne] for William Barley, 1592.
8pp. | 4° Type: black letter

The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys, London: [John Windet, John Danter, Richard Field et al.] for Thomas Man & John Winnington, 1593.
116pp. | 4° Type: black letter
Variant: Joan Orwin for Thomas Man & John Winnington, 1593.

Gifford, G., *A Dialogve concerning Witches and Witchcraftes*, London: John Windet for Toby Cooke and Mihil Hart, 1593.
96pp. | 4° Type: black letter
——— *A Dialogue Concerning VVitches And Witchcrafts* (2nd ed.), London: Richard Field & Felix Kingston to be sold by Arthur Johnson, 1603.
96pp. | 4° Type: black letter

The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine Witch named Alse Gooderige, London: for J[ohn] O[xenbridge], 1597.
47pp. | 4° Type: black letter

A Strange Report of Sixe most notorious VVitches, London: William White for Thomas Pavier, 1601.
12pp. | 4° Type: black letter

James I, *Daemonologie*, London: [Richard Bradock] for William Aspley & William Cotton, 1603.
80pp. | 4° Type: roman
Variants: *STC* 14365 as above; *STC* 14365.5 has booksellers' names in reverse order.
Anr. ed.: *STC* 14366 London: Arnold Hatfield for Robert Waldegrave, 1603.

The Most Crvell And Bloody Mvrther committed by an Inkeepers wife, called Annis Dell... With the seuerall VVitch-crafts, and most damnable practises of one Iohane Harrison and her Daughter, London: [Thomas Purfoot] for William Firebrand & John Wright, 1606.
24pp. | 4° Type: black letter

Perkins, W., *A Discourse Of The Damned Art of Witchcraft*, ed. T. Pickering, Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1608.
282pp. | 8° Type: roman
——— *A Discourse Of The Damned Art Of Witchcraft* (2nd ed.), ed. T. Pickering, Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1610.
280pp. | 8° Type: roman

Mason, J., *The Anatomie Of Sorcerie*, London: John Legate to be sold by Simon Waterson, 1612.
108pp. | 4° Type: roman

The Life And Death of Lewis Gaufredy... To which is annexed, a true discourse of a most inhumaine murther, committed by foure women Witches, London: Thomas Creede for Richard Redmer, 1612.
36pp. | 4° Type: black letter

The Witches Of Northamptonshire, London: Thomas Purfoot for Arthur Johnson, 1612.
28pp. | 4° Type: black letter

Michaelis, S., *The Admirable History Of The Possession And Conuersion of a Penitent woman. Seduced By A Magician That Made her to become a Witch... Wherevnto Is Annexed A Pneumology, Or Discourse of Spirits*, trans. W. B., London: [Felix Kingston] for William Aspley, [1613].
664 pp. | 4° Type: roman
Variant: *STC* 17854 is undated; *STC* 17854a is a reissue, with cancellans title-page which gives the date; also adds preface to the reader.

Potts, T., *The Wonderfull Discoverie Of Witches In The Covntie Of Lancaster*, London: William Stansby for John Barnes, 1613.
188pp. | 4° Type: roman

Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed, London: [William Stansby?] for Edward Marchant, 1613.
20pp. | 4° Type: black letter

Cotta, J., *The Triall Of Witch-craft*, London: George Purslowe for Samuel Rand, 1616.
138pp. | 4° Type: roman
——— *The Infallible Trve And Assvred VVitch* (2nd. ed.), London: John Legate for Richard Higgenbotham, 1624.
174pp. | 4° Type: roman
Separate issue of 2nd ed. under original title(?), London: John Legate for Richard Higgenbotham, 1624.
Reissue of 2nd ed.(?), London: John Legate for Richard Higgenbotham, 1625.

Roberts, A., *A Treatise of Witchcraft*, London: Nicholas Okes for Samuel Man, 1616.
88pp. | 4° Type: roman

Cooper, T., *The Mystery Of Witch-craft*, London: Nicholas Okes, 1617.
400pp. | 8° Type: roman
Reissued, with new title-page and prefatory matter: *Sathan Transformed into an Angell of Light*, London: Barnard Alsop, 1622.
402pp. | 8°

The Wonderfull Discoverie Of The Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, London: George Elde for John Barnes, 1619.

48pp. | 4° Type: roman
Separate issue(?): George Elde for John Barnes, 1619 (some type re-set).

Anr. ed.: [George Elde for John Barnes?, 1621?]; only surviving copy missing title-page.
Some minor additions.

22 pp. | 4° Type: black letter

Anr. ed.: *Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull*, London: M[iles] F[lesher] for Thomas Lambert, 1635.
24pp. | 4° Type: roman

Damnable Practises Of three Lincoln-shire Witches, London[?]: George Elde for John Barnes, 1619.

Broadside Type: black letter

Goodcole, H., *The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Savvyer a Witch, late of Edmonton*, London: Augustine Mathewes for William Butler, 1621.

30pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Bernard, R., *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men*, London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1627.

288pp. | 12°

Type: roman

——— *A Gvide To Grand-Ivry Men* (2nd ed.), London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1629.

Reissue of 2nd. ed. London: Felix Kingston for Edward Blackmore, 1630.

Brome, R. & Heywood, T., *The late Lancashire VVitches*, London: Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, 1634.

84pp. | 4°

Type: roman

A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a VVitch, [London?]: John Hammond, 1643.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

The Examination, Confession, Triall, And Execution, Of Joane Williford, Joan Cariden, and Jane Hott, London: for J. G., 1645.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Signes and wonders from Heaven... And how 20. Witches more were executed in Suffolke this last Assise, London: I[ohn] H[ammond], [1645].

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches At Chensford in Essex, London: John Hammond, 1645.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

F., H., *A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the late Witches, arraigned and executed in the County of Essex*, London: M[atthew] S[immons?] for Henry Overton & Benjamin Allen, 1645.

44pp. | 4°

Type: roman

A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eightene VVitches. That were tried, convicted, and condemned, at a Sessions holden at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolke, London: John Hammond, 1645.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

The Lawes against Witches, And Conivration, London: for R. W., 1645.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Gaule, J., *Select Cases of Conscience Touching VVitches and VVitchcrafts*, London: William Wilson for Richard Clutterbuck, 1646.

216pp. | 12°

Type: roman

Davenport, J., *The Witches Of Huntingdon*, London: William Wilson for Richard Clutterbuck, 1646.

20pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Hopkins, M., *The Discovery of Witches*, London: for Richard Royston, 1647.

16pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Stearne, J., *A Confirmation And Discovery of Witchcraft*, London: William Wilson, 1648.

68pp. | 4°

Type: roman

The Divels Delvsions Or A faithfull relation of John Palmer and Elizabeth Knott two notorious VVitches lately condemned at the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer in St. Albans, London: for Richard Williams, 1649.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

- Moore, M., *Wonderfull News from the North. Or, A True Relation Of The Sad And Grievous Torments, Inflicted upon the Bodies of three Children of Mr. George Muschamp, late of the County of Northumberland, by Witch-craft*, London: T[homas] H[arper?] to be sold by Richard Harper, 1650.
32pp. | 4° Type: roman
- The Tryall And Examination Of Mrs. Joan Peterson... for her supposed Witchcraft [sic]*, London: for George Horton, 1652.
8pp. | 4° Type: roman
- The Witch Of Wapping, Or An Exact and Perfect Relation, of the Life and Devilish Practises of Joan Peterson*, London: for Th. Spring, 1652.
8pp. | 4° Type: roman
- A Declaration In Answer to several lying Pamphlets concerning the Witch of Wapping*, London: [s. n.] 1652.
12pp. | 4° Type: roman
- G., E. & F., H., *A Prodigious & Tragickall History Of The Arraignment, Tryall, Confession, and Condemnation of six Witches at Maidstone*, London: for Richard Harper, 1652.
8pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Two terrible Sea-Fights... Likewise, The Tryal of six Witches at Edenborough*, London: R[obert?] Wood, 1652.
8pp. | 4° Type: roman
- [*The Sal*]isbury Assizes. [*Or, the Ren*]ard of Witchcraft, [London: s. n., 1653?]³.
Broadside Type: black letter
- Bower, E., *Doctor Lamb Revived, Or, VVitchcraft condemn'd in Anne Bodenham*, London: T[homas] W[ilson?] for Richard Best & John Place, 1653.
48pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Doctor Lamb's Darling: Or, Strange and terrible News from Salisbury*, London: for George Horton, 1653.
8pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Filmer, R., *An Advertisement To The Jury-men Of England, Touching Witches*, London: I[ohn] G[rismond] for Richard Royston, 1653.
32pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Ady, T., *A Candle in the Dark*, London: for Robert Ibbitson, 1655.
178 pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Reissue: London: for Robert Ibbitson to be sold by Thomas Newberry, 1656.
178 pp. | 4°
- Farnworth, R., *VVitchcraft Cast out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God*, London: for Giles Calvert, 1655.
24pp. | 4° Type: roman
- Price, L., *The Witch of the Woodlands*, London: for John Stafford, 1655.
22pp. | 4° Type: black letter
- The most true and wonderfull Narration Of two women bewitched in Yorkshire*, [s. l.] for Thomas Vere & William Gilbertson, 1658.
16pp. | 8° Type: black letter
- Dekker, T., Ford, J. & Rowley, W., *The Witch of Edmonton*, London: James Cottrel for Edward

³ Only extant copy damaged; reconstructed title suggested by Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 329.

Blackmore, 1658.

68pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Strange & Terrible Newes From Cambridge, London: for C. Brooks, 1659.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

A Lying VVonder Discovered, and The Strange and Terrible Newes from Cambridge proved false, London: for Thomas Simmons, 1659.

8pp. | 4°

Type: roman

Appendix 2: Identification of previously unidentified Stationers

There are a number of previously unidentified Stationers in the corpus who give only their initials in their imprints; some attempt has been made to identify them.

- *Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull*, London: M. F. for Thomas Lambert, 1635.

Miles Flesher is the only candidate in Plomer or McKerrow; in addition, Flesher was in partnership with George Elde (printer of the 1619 edition of this pamphlet) until the latter's death in 1624.¹

- *Signes and wonders from Heaven... And how 20. Witches more were executed in Suffolke this last Assise*, London: I. H., [1645].

John Hammond is the only candidate in Plomer; he printed several other works relating to the East Anglian trials in 1645.²

- F., H., *A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the late Witches, arraigned and executed in the County of Essex*, London: M. S. for Henry Overton, & Benjamin Allen, 1645.

Matthew Simmons is the only candidate in Plomer's dictionary; Simmons worked regularly with Overton and Allen.³

- Moore, M., *Wonderfull News from the North*, London: T.H. to be sold by Richard Harper, 1650. Thomas Harper is the only candidate in Plomer; he worked with Richard Harper on a number of occasions (they may have been related).⁴

- *Two terrible Sea-Fights... Likewise, The Tryal of six Witches at Edenborough*, London: R. Wood, 1652. Likely either Ralph Wood or Robert Wood. Plomer gives the dates 1642-65 for Ralph Wood;⁵ but I have only been able to find imprints from before 1657 for him. Imprints featuring his name are rare, and include no news pamphlets.

Robert Wood appears to have begun business in 1641 as a publisher, with all surviving imprints stating 'printed for Robert Wood'; from 1649 they change to 'printed by Robert

¹ Plomer, 76.

² Ibid., 89.

³ Ibid., 164.

⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁵ Ibid., 196.

Wood' almost exclusively. Perhaps they two are different people;⁶ perhaps this Wood changed occupations. Robert Wood the printer was primarily a news pamphlet printer. This Wood is also known to have printed three other pamphlets concerning sea battles in 1653 alone. A typographical comparison of *Two terrible sea-fights* with other works known to have been printed by Robert Wood in and around 1652, combined with his propensity for topical pamphlets (especially those on sea battles), seems to indicate that he was indeed the printer of this work.⁷ In any case, according to Plomer it is likely that the two Woods were in partnership; they may have been related.⁸

• Bower, E., *Doctor Lamb Revived*, London: T. W. for Richard Best & John Place, 1653.

These initials most likely refer to either Thomas Warren or Thomas Wilson. Thomas Warren, a bookseller and printer in business 1638-1661, printed classics, legal works and theological tracts. Warren is known to have worked with Richard Best and John Place, but on just one occasion each, in 1642 and 1659 respectively. Thomas Wilson was in business for just a few years (1653-7), largely a printer of, according to Plomer, 'ballads, broadsides, chap books, and such ephemeral literature.'⁹ Few imprints bearing his name survive. Typographical analysis has proved inconclusive: whilst the outputs of both men share some common woodcut ornaments, a distinctive spiral ornament found in Bower's pamphlet is also found in all four surviving imprints definitely referring to Thomas Wilson, and in none of Thomas Warren's that I have examined.¹⁰ Wilson thus appears the most likely candidate, but the evidence is not conclusive.

• Filmer, R., *An Advertisement To The Jury-men Of England, Touching Witches*, London: I. G. for Richard Royston, 1653.

These initials refer to John Grismond. Grismond is known to have printed for Royston on a regular basis; Grismond's printing house was on Ivy Lane (where Royston had his shop).¹¹

⁶ There is only one Robert Wood in Plomer, and only one in McKenzie was binding apprentices, D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700* (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974), 184; however there are two Robert Woods who were apprentices themselves; see id., *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of Virginia, 1961), 8 no. 23 and 39 no. 658.

⁷ For example cf. the ornaments on 3 and 4 and the woodcut initial on 4 of *A Pill to purge Melancholy* (London: Robert Wood, 1652) with 3 in *Two terrible sea-fights* (London: R. Wood, 1652); or the woodcut initial on 3 of *A Bloudy Fight Between [t]he two Potent Fleets of England and Holland* (London: Robert Wood, 1653) with that on 3 of *Two terrible sea-fights*; they appear to be from the same stock.

⁸ See Plomer, 196 (Ralph) and 197 (Robert).

⁹ Ibid, 195.

¹⁰ Cf. the ornament on 37 of Bower's pamphlet with those on A3^r and B1^r of Abraham Woofe's *Tyranny of the Dutch against the English* (London: John Crouch & Thomas Wilson, 1653); A2^r and A3^r of S. H.'s *Funerall elegies* (London: Thomas Wilson, 1655); A3^r of Thomas Jordan's *Fancy's Festivals A Masque* (London: Thomas Wilson, 1657); and A2^r and A3^r of Jordan's *The Walkes Of Islington and Hogsdon* (London: Thomas Wilson, 1657).

¹¹ Plomer, 87.

Appendix 3: Copies of witchcraft books in private libraries, 1560-1700

Date given is of first edition only unless otherwise stated.

ENGLISH WORKS

The Examination of John Walsh (1566)

1. Richard Smith (*bap.* 1590, *d.*1675), Secondary of the Poultry Compter.
Bibliotheca Smithiana (London: For Richard Chiswel, 1682), 368.
2. Francis Bernard (*bap.* 1628, *d.*1698), physician.
A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard (London: for Brabazon Aylmer et al., 1698), 63 (3rd pagination).

The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde (1566)

1. Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury.
Signature binding on Lambeth [ZZ]1587.12.03.

A Rehearsall both straung and true (1579)

1. Robert Hare (*c.*1530-1611), antiquary.
Signature on BL C.27.a.11, title-page.

A Detection of damnable driftes (1579)

1. Robert Hare (*c.*1530-1611), antiquary.
Signature on BL C.27.a.8, title-page.
2. Francis Bernard (1628-98), physician.
A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard, 63 (3rd pagination).

W. W., A true and iust Recorde (1582)

1. Francis Bernard (1628-98), physician.
A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard, 63 (3rd pagination).

Reginald Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* (1584)

1. Richard Stonley (*d.*1600), court official (teller of the exchequer).
PLRE Ad4.90 (1597).
2. George Carey (1548-1603), second Baron Hunsdon, MP and courtier.
Armorial binding on Bodleian 4° S 53 Th.
3. Sir Roger Townshend (*d.*1636), MP, JP.
PLRE 3.272 (*c.*1625) (2 copies).
4. Henry Percy (1564-1632), Algernon Percy (1602-68), 9th & 10th earls of Northumberland.
Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Petworthiana, PHA/5377, fol. 32^r.
5. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), naval official.
R. Latham & W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (11 vols; London: G. Bell & Sons, 1970-83), VIII, 383.
6. Richard Smith (1590-1675), Secondary of the Poultry Compter.
Bibliotheca Smithiana, 192.
7. Sir William Ducie, Viscount Downe.
Catalogus Bibliothecae Illustrissimi Domini Gulielmi Ducie Vicecomitis Duni (London: for Robert Littlebury, 1680), 22 & 23 (2 copies, 1st & 3rd eds).

8. John Webster (1611-82), schoolmaster and radical clergyman.

P. Elmer, *The Library of Dr John Webster: The Making of A Seventeenth-Century Radical* (London: Wellcome Institute, 1986), 73.

9. Charles Mearne (1658-85), bookseller to the Crown.

A Catalogue Of English Books... Of Mr. Charles Mearne's, late Bookseller to His Majesty (London: for Edward Millington, 1687), 5 (2nd pagination).

10. Anthony Scattergood (c.1611-87), clergyman.

A Catalogue Of The Library Of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Scattergood (London: for John Hartley, 1697), 54.

11. Edward Wray.

Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Instructissimae Eduardi Wray (London: for William Cooper, 1687), 36 & 37 (2 copies).

12. Elias Ashmole (1617-92), astrologer and antiquary.

Bibliotheca Ashmoleana, (London: for Edward Millington, 1694), 10.

13. Thomas Britton (1644-1714), coal merchant and concert promoter.

The Library of Mr. Tho Britton, Smallcoal-man (London: for John Bullord, 1694), 15.

14. Francis Bernard (1628-1698), physician.

A Catalogue Of The Library Of the late Learned Dr. Francis Bernard, 40 (3rd pagination).

15. Ralph Hough.

A Catalogue Of The Library Of Ralph Hough, Esq (London: for J. Bullord, 1699?), 46.

George Gifford, *A Discourse of the subtill Practises of Deuilles by VVitches and Sorcerers* (1587)

1. Richard Smith (1590-1675), Secondary of the Poultry Compter.

Bibliotheca Smithiana, 361.

2. Thomas Jacombe (1623/4-1687), clergyman.

Bibliotheca Jacombiana (London: for Edward Millington, 1687), 91.

***The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches* (1589)**

1. Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury.

Signature binding on Lambeth [ZZ]1597.15.

Henry Holland, *A Treatise Against VVitchcraft* (1590)

1. Richard Smith (1590-1675), Secondary of the Poultry Compter.

Bibliotheca Smithiana, 361.

2. Thomas Jacombe (1623/4-1687), clergyman.

Bibliotheca Jacombiana, 91.

***A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter* (1590)**

1. Francis Bernard (1628-98), physician.

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